

“CANADA’S TOUGHEST NEIGHBOURHOOD”: SURVEILLANCE, MYTH AND
ORIENTALISM IN JANE-FINCH

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ABSTRACT

This study examines coverage of Jane-Finch in popular Canadian newspapers in 2007. It explores the often-negative representations of the community through conceptual frameworks based on the work of Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes and Edward Said. The question it attempts to answer is: What knowledge and power relationships are embedded within depictions of Jane-Finch in popular Canadian newspapers in 2007? The methodology is a version of critical discourse analysis based on Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. It finds that predominantly-negative connotations of the neighbourhood are reinforced through the perpetuation of dominant discourses, the use of "expert" knowledge sources, and the discounting of subjugated knowledges or lived-experiences of residents. The study concludes by suggesting where further research within the realm of popular culture and community identity can be directed.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: “CANADA’S TOUGHEST NEIGHBOURHOOD”	1
1.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF JANE-FINCH	1
1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	8
1.3 ANALYSIS	9
1.4 EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	10
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION	12
1.6 ORGANIZATION	12
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	15
2.0 INTRODUCTION	15
2.1 PART 1: FOUCAULT	16
2.1.1 <i>Power-knowledge</i>	16
2.1.2 <i>Discursive Practices</i>	18
2.1.3 <i>Panopticism</i>	23
2.1.4 <i>Foucault and Geography</i>	27
2.1.5 <i>Summarizing Foucault</i>	29
2.2 PART 2: BARTHES	30
2.2.1 <i>Myth</i>	30
2.2.2 <i>Motivation and Interpretation</i>	34
2.2.3 <i>The Windowpane as Alibi</i>	39
2.2.4 <i>The Photograph</i>	40
2.2.5 <i>Summarizing Barthes</i>	44
2.3 PART 3: SAID	44
2.3.1 <i>Orientalism</i>	44
2.3.2 <i>Foucault's Influence</i>	47
2.3.3 <i>Myth in Orientalism</i>	51
2.3.4 <i>Identity and the Other</i>	54

2.3.5 Problems with Orientalism	56
2.3.6 Summarizing Said.....	60
2.4 NEGOTIATING CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS	60
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	64
3.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND POSTMODERNITY	64
3.2 METHOD.....	65
3.3 SOURCES AND SAMPLING	66
3.4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS	69
CHAPTER 4: SURVEILLANCE, MYTH AND ORIENTALISM IN JANE-FINCH	71
4.0 INTRODUCTION.....	71
4.1 PART ONE: JANE-FINCH EMERGING	71
4.1.1 <i>The Birth of Jane-Finch</i>	72
4.1.2 <i>The Emergence of Jane-Finch in Dominant Newspapers</i>	77
4.1.3 <i>Reporting on Jane-Finch, 2007</i>	89
4.2 PART TWO: SPEAKING TRUTH IN JANE-FINCH.....	99
4.2.1 <i>Journalists and Newspapers</i>	99
4.2.2 <i>Photographers</i>	105
4.2.3 <i>Authoritative Knowledge Sources</i>	114
4.2.4 <i>Subjugated Knowledge Sources</i>	120
4.3 PART THREE: GRIDS OF SPECIFICATION	127
4.3.1 <i>Mapping Criminal Space</i>	127
4.3.2 <i>Situating “Canada’s Toughest Neighbourhood”</i>	139
4.4 CONCLUSION	146
CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, RESIDENTS AND RESEARCHERS.....	148
5.0 INTRODUCTION.....	148
5.1 THE PROBLEM OF REPRESENTING JANE-FINCH	149

5.2 RESISTING DOMINANT DISCOURSES.....	153
5.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	158
WORKS CITED	165
APPENDIX A: 2007 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES (LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY)	195

Table of Figures

Map of Jane-Finch (City of Toronto, 2008).	3
The first article in a <i>Toronto Sun</i> series on Jane-Finch entitled “ <i>Life and Death in Jane-Finch</i> ” (<i>Toronto Sun</i> , 2005).	5
Diagram of the sign (adapted from Saussure, 2007, p. 115).	31
Diagram of Myth/LANGUAGE (adapted from Barthes, 1972, p. 115).	32
Native Territories, 1600 (City of Toronto, 2006).	73
Jane-Finch (upper-left intersection) (City of Toronto Archives, 1947).	75
Modern Jane-Finch (ERA Architects Inc., 2007).	77
One of the first “Jane-Finch” uses on record (<i>The Toronto Daily Star</i> , 1965).	79
Advertisement for Palisades in Jane-Finch (<i>Toronto Star</i> , 1976).	81
Graffiti reported in Jane-Finch (<i>Toronto Daily Star</i> , 1966).	83
Daily Readership of Top 3 Canadian Newspapers (CNA, 2008).	103
File photograph of Jordan Manners from Internet (2007).	111
Photograph of Alwyn Barry (<i>Toronto Star</i> , 2007).	113
Video still of Alwyn Barry (<i>CityNews</i> , 2007).	123
Article featuring spoken word poet Melissa Dean (<i>Toronto Star</i> , 2007).	124
Map of Jane-Finch’s “Gang turf war zone” (<i>National Post</i> , 2005).	137
Detail from <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (2007).	140
Photograph of Clichy-sous-Bois residents by JR (2006).	156
Article from <i>The Globe and Mail</i> on Art Project in Regent Park (Dixon, 2008).	158

“CANADA’S TOUGHEST NEIGHBOURHOOD”: SURVEILLANCE, MYTH AND ORIENTALISM IN JANE-FINCH

Chapter 1: “Canada’s Toughest Neighbourhood”

1.1 A Brief History of Jane-Finch

In the mid-afternoon of Wednesday, May 23, 2007, Jordan Manners was shot in the chest inside C. W. Jeffreys high school. The previous Friday, Manners had celebrated his fifteenth birthday with friends and family. The festivities had taken place in the neighbourhood of Jane-Finch in north-west Toronto, where Manners lived with his mother. The day after the shooting, Jane-Finch appeared in virtually every Canadian newspaper from the *New Brunswick Telegraph Journal* to *The Vancouver Sun*. As newspapers detailed Manners’ death, the line favoured when describing the neighbourhood was “the Jane-Finch corridor [is] a poor¹ area of Toronto noted for years for its high crime rate” (“Charges laid,” 2007, p. A4; “Many ethnic communities,” 2007, p. A3; “Teens charged in school,” 2007, p. A3; “Teens charged in T.O.,” 2007, p. A3; “Two 17-year-olds charged,” 2007, p. A9).² Other newspaper articles describe the community as “blighted” (Bielski, 2007b, p. A13), “troubled” (Leong & Coutts, 2007a, p. A3), and “a very tough neighbourhood” (DiManno, 2007b, p. A1). Though this story is a sad one, it is also familiar to many Canadians. Jane-Finch, as one journalist writes “has

¹ Certain publications chose to omit the word “poor” from this description.

² There were also variations of this phrase that describe Jane-Finch as an “area of Toronto, which is known for its high crime rate” (“Ottawa denies Ontario bid to ban pistols,” 2007, p. A3) and an “area of Toronto...notorious for its high crime rate” (“Arrests not a solution,” 2007, p. A6; “60 arrested,” 2007, p. A3.).

become a catch-all phrase that suggests poverty, gangs and racial division” (Friesen, 2006a, p. A15). But it was not always like this.

Five hundred years ago, the area east of Humber River that is now part of North York was inhabited by Aboriginal communities (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986). Longhouses, some 36 meters long by 9 meters wide, peppered the landscape from roughly 1400 to 1550. Long after the Aboriginal communities moved on to other places, settlers began to arrive in about 1800. The first Lieutenant Governor, John Simcoe, offered free lots of 200 acres to any “law abiding Christian who was capable of manual labour” (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986, p. 7). One of the first English settlers, arriving in the late 1830s was John Boynton, who built a house near Concession Road 5 (later Jane Street) and the Emery-Elia side road (later Finch Avenue West).

The area continued to develop in the nineteenth century with churches, schools and farms scattered along dirt roads while the addition of the railway in 1853 led to better transportation and communication services (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986). North York developed much more slowly, however, than the city of Toronto, which attracted vast populations of immigrants. From 1923 to 1939, North York’s population rose from 6,303 people to 20,382 (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986). In contrast, Toronto’s population rose from 108,040 in 1901 to 675,754 in 1951³ (City of Toronto, 2008).

³ Since this time, Toronto’s geographic area has expanded. In 1901, the city’s population would have been 238,080 taking this area into account. In 1951 the population would have been 1,117,470 (this includes North York).

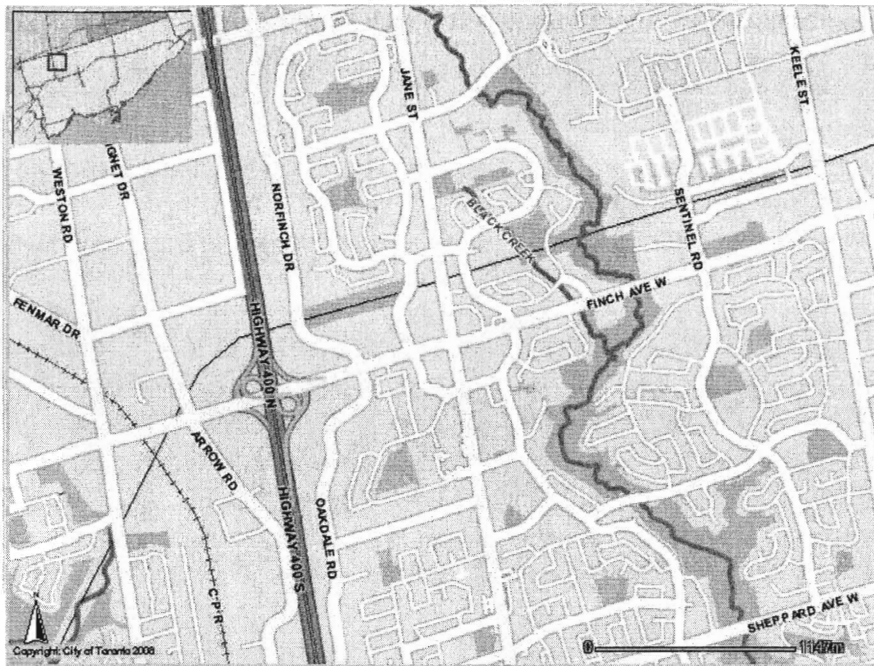


Figure 1.1. Map of Jane-Finch (City of Toronto, 2008).

The real boom in the Jane-Finch area came after the Second World War. In the 1960s, major roads were paved and widened while limited bus services began. The city and the private sector constructed dozens of high-density apartments and row houses at this time to meet the needs of people settling in the area. The neighbourhood was attractive to newcomers, offering affordable housing from which residents could commute to jobs in the city. Many immigrants came from the West Indies, Asia, Africa, South America and India. In a decade, the population expanded by more than 2000% (CBC, 2007). In 1961, the neighbourhood's population was 1,301. In 1971, the population was 33,030 (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986).

While Jane-Finch grew exponentially, city services and acceptance of the new immigrant population did not. In the 1970s, Jane-Finch was compared to “a ravaged section of New York” in *The Globe and Mail*, where “racial problems are not restricted to those between blacks and whites...but involve all ethnic groupings in the area” (Moon,

1979, p. P4). By the 1980s, newspapers such as *The Toronto Star* reported headlines like “Jane-Finch...resents its stereotype as a concrete jungle of social breakdown” (DiManno, 1986, pp. F1).⁴ Mainstream newspapers presented Jane-Finch as a paradox: “An immigrant enclave where people of diverse color and background sometimes clash, but not a black hole of racial confrontation on the brink of rioting” (ibid). The area was known as “a place where you can score cocaine, hash and acid easily...but not one giant drug emporium peopled with dopeheads and drug overlords” (ibid). Regardless of the neighbourhood’s many connotations, Jane-Finch was without a doubt “synonymous with trouble” (ibid).

In 2005, a higher than average number of shootings in Toronto led many newspapers to use the phrase “the summer of the gun.”⁵ At this time, the *Toronto Sun* published a seven-part series detailing the now-infamous neighbourhood. The title of this series was “Life and Death in Jane-Finch” (Clarkson & Godfrey, 2005, p. 31). The same caption appeared with each story:

The Jane-Finch Corridor—it has guns, gangs and drugs—but it also has heart and soul. It’s a vibrant, very human community of 75,000 people trying to build a better life for themselves and their kids in a troubled environment (Clarkson & Godfrey, 2005, p. 31).

⁴ DiManno continues to cover the area more than twenty years later (see DiManno, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e).

⁵ In 2007, journalists continue to refer to “the summer of the gun” in Jane-Finch articles (“A frightened community,” 2007, p. A14; Blatchford & Debroya, 2007, p. A1; DiManno, 2007d, p. A2; James, 2007a, p. A6).

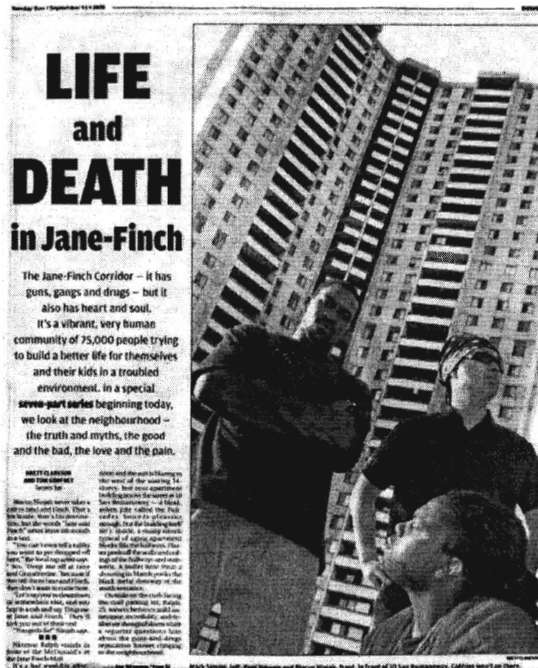


Figure 1.2. The first article in a *Toronto Sun* series on Jane-Finch entitled “Life and Death in Jane-Finch” (*Toronto Sun*, 2005).

The series, the largest of its time, examined in order: “the truth and myths” of Jane-Finch (Clarkson & Godfrey, 2005, p. 31); “how one young man...is now helping others” avoid violence (Clarkson, 2005a, p. 34); “how local hip hop artists reflect the mood of the community” (Clarkson, 2005b, p. 34); “how the Safe Schools Act is affecting kids in the community” (Clarkson, 2005c, p. 38); “how local pastors are trying to reach out to area youth” (Clarkson, 2005d, p. 30); how “housing development” is straining the community (Clarkson, 2005e, p. 26); and finally “how the heart of the community—the Jane Finch Mall—struggles with stigma” (Clarkson, 2005f, p. 29). The issues raised by Clarkson and the *Toronto Sun* confront and reflect the growing interest in Jane-Finch as a criminal territory. These stories, more overtly than any others, examine violence, hip-hop culture, immigration and low-income housing, positioning such objects within discourses of education, urban planning, volunteering and outreach and, finally,

commerce. The series was one of the first in which Jane-Finch became the object of serious scrutiny in contemporary mass culture, setting a precedent for more to come.

In 2006, *The Globe and Mail* installed a reporter in Jane-Finch with a mandate to cover its trials and tribulations (Richardson, 2007). Joe Friesen, who had sporadically covered issues in the community since 2005, spent five months working out of a make-shift office on San Romanoway in the centre of Jane-Finch. He reported on anti-gang programs (Friesen, 2006h), single mothers going back to school (Friesen, 2006i), and the successes of education initiatives in the area (Friesen, 2006d). He even wrote about the clothes young people wore, contextualising baggy jeans and oversized shirts (Friesen, 2006j). Friesen attempted to make sense of the infamous neighbourhood, relaying a human side to the often-dehumanising images readers were used to seeing. “Those who live here say the stereotypes obscure a complex, resilient community struggling to emerge from years of neglect,” writes Friesen (2006a, p. A14).

Friesen’s work for *The Globe and Mail* was a major step forward in journalism about the area. One year earlier, the *Toronto Sun* began to seriously consider how Jane-Finch residents’ daily lives were affected by stereotypes. Now, a national Canadian newspaper was eloquently addressing these issues. But, as I explore in this study, reports did not always liberate the community from the stigmas it has had pressed upon it. Sometimes, these well-intentioned investigations further segregated “them” from “us.” Under the guise of tearing down barriers, newspapers and journalists often erected bigger, less visible, ones.

Newspapers have not been the only medium to focus on the community. In 2006, the CBC aired a documentary entitled “Lost in the Struggle.” The crew of *the fifth estate*

employed two local filmmakers to document the lives of three young men in Jane-Finch who sold drugs and played with guns. The documentary was later nominated for two Gemini Awards in 2007. On the film's website, the CBC highlights eight characteristics that set Jane-Finch apart from the rest of Toronto. The list is telling of both the conditions residents face and the way dominant news media continue to portray the community. The list is presented as follows:

Compared to the rest of the city of Toronto, Jane and Finch has: a higher rate of immigrants and people new to Canada; a higher rate of youth and children; a higher rate of single parents; a higher rate of low-income families; a higher proportion of rental households; a higher rate of unemployment; a lower percentage of population with university education (despite being located next to York University); and a higher percentage of population with less than a high school education (CBC, 2007).

The metamorphosis of Jane-Finch from Aboriginal settlement to German pioneer village, to the feared and criminalised space represented in newspapers today was a gradual one. This development was imperceptible to most Canadians. Today the majority of newspaper readers would likely have trouble picturing anything but an immigrant enclave synonymous with poverty, violence and crime. As time passes, the community continues to change. For this reason, one can constantly discover and explore the neighbourhood anew. As one group of community members and academics point out, "Despite our great diversity, we all at one time have pioneered or are now pioneering this corner of North York" (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986, p. 4).

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is not to set the record straight. I make no claims to have knowledge of the community in North-West Toronto that is superior or more objective than journalists, residents or readers. The object of my analysis is Jane-Finch as a mediated space. In a sense, I am not concerned with the “reality” or “truth” of Jane-Finch. As I explore within this work, there are more processes involved in understanding this space than mere observation and reportage. Whether deserving of the title of “Canada’s toughest neighbourhood” (Friesen, 2007, pp. A16-17), Jane-Finch has become such a place in the collective imaginary of Canadians. I focus my examination on the dominant print news media, arguing that it is in large part responsible for such representations. I acknowledge, however, that innumerable factors have contributed to the present circumstances; the media are only one factor of many.

The ideas newspapers generate of Jane-Finch through words and images have real and important consequences. In the last half-century, Jane-Finch has transitioned from farmland, to immigrant haven, to criminal space. Such a reputation affects not only how residents and outsiders observe this space but how public policies are conceived, how laws are enforced and how education initiatives are directed. These implications make the process of gathering “knowledge” of Jane-Finch through the dominant print news media an important aspect of popular culture and one in need of close examination. Dahlgren and Sparks (1992) write that “journalism is something part of, rather than separate from, popular culture” (p. 18). This sentiment is echoed in works by Hall (2003a, 2006) and Cohen (2005), both of whom understand journalism as both “an institutionally

constructed reality” and “a contribution to the construction of larger societal realities” (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1992, p. 10).

In this study, I explore Jane-Finch as presented in popular Canadian newspapers. My interest is in interrogating how knowledge of this community is disseminated to those outside the area through articles and photographs. In doing so, I draw attention to the processes at work in representing this space/place. Ultimately, I strive to present a framework for residents, journalists and other interested parties to negotiate these representations and the implicit power arrangements within them.

1.3 Analysis

In this thesis, I will analyse the major newspaper items relating to Jane-Finch in the year 2007⁶ using three theoretical frameworks: 1) Foucault’s (1980, 1995, 2003, 2006) concept of power-knowledge and surveillance; 2) Barthes’ (1972) model of mythology; and 3) Said’s (2003) concept of Orientalism. Though these theories are distinct from one another, they all have common features that unite them. Together, Foucault, Barthes, and Said present a critical epistemological framework that guides my study.

Michel Foucault’s related theories of *panopticism* and power-knowledge suggest that objects—particularly those considered abnormal—are frequently observed in order to form “knowledge” of them and thus exercise power over them. By popular newspapers continuously entering Jane-Finch and publishing detailed reports of this space, it becomes a disciplined object of knowledge by those observing it. Roland Barthes’s model of

⁶ For a list of these newspaper articles, see Appendix A.

mythology argues that language is used to denote things but also to relay connotations. By mentioning Jane-Finch, readers think of the place (denotation), but they also likely think of crime, violence and urban decay (connotation). Finally, Edward Said's theory of *Orientalism* suggests that spaces and communities are (re)produced through dominant language and cultural practices that imagine particular characteristics to be true of a place and thereby depict, and materially construct, such places. If the news media discuss Jane-Finch as a criminal space, readers are likely to see it as a criminal space. And so it becomes a criminal space through a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy where one looks for the characteristics to confirm beliefs that have been established in earlier representations that have been presented as a natural component of the society.

In this study, Foucault provides the macro lens, so to speak, by allowing me to situate the articles within the larger considerations of power-knowledge. Barthes provides the micro lens by demonstrating the way the smallest word or image contributes to these considerations. Finally, Said merges the two, delivering these theories from abstraction by providing a model of how to apply these concepts to a geographical space. These three frameworks are central to how I analyse the "knowledge" of Jane-Finch that Canada's dominant newspapers provide on a daily basis.

1.4 Epistemological Considerations

The scope of this project does not allow for a sustained investigation of post-structuralism and post-modernism, both of which are important considerations within my

theoretical framework. Nevertheless, I would like to specifically address two issues that arise from these ideas.⁷

What I have presented so far is not *the* history of Jane-Finch but *a* history. My work is predicated on the post-modern notions of multiplicity and fragmentation (Lyotard, 1985). I perform this research under the ever-present assumption that my statements can be negated and contradicted by others. This possibility does not discredit my project; if anything, it invigorates and sustains it. Unlike Enlightenment notions that Truth can be found through scientific inquiry, my work operates at a critical distance from such épistèmes. My aim is not to arrive at an objective underlying truth but to highlight the very subjectivity of the truth of Jane-Finch. This means my work will not be placed on a pedestal as the definitive version of Jane-Finch to be measured against all others. If one rejects the possibility of any one, singular grand narrative as postmodernists such as Lyotard do, then this study does not fail. The fact that this work is self-reflexive within its relationship to notions of truth makes it stronger. By not aiming to present the definitive truth about the subject but to question the notion of definitive truth, this study reaches its objective.

I acknowledge the limitations of writing this thesis within an institutionalised environment that may not be overtly Eurocentric, positivistic and logocentric but is based on such epistemological shortcomings (Derrida, 1978, 1997; Gregory, 1989; Young, 1995; Said, 2003). By this, I mean the environment in which I am operating privileges facts, evidence, and logical deductions deriving from authoritative resources. If one is to challenge or problematise the idea that such facts can exist outside of our construction of

⁷ I return to these issues again in Chapter Three but feel it is important to introduce them at this point.

them, then one challenges the very notions such work is predicated upon. In other words, to write a successful and widely accepted thesis, I have to find evidence and facts that rationally support my underlying premise, which is that objective evidence and facts do not exist. I find it impossible to break away from such a paradox. As I explore throughout this study, the discourses I present are intertextually related to regimes of truth that impose realities rather than reflect them (Foucault, 1995, 2003, 2006). Currently, I see no complete escape from these power-knowledge formations. But as Foucault (2006) suggests, I attempt to expand and stretch the dominant discourses with which I am concerned from the inside-out. Through this work, I hope to explore the alternatives, the subjugated experiences, and the absent statements that haunt much of the 2007 newspaper coverage of Jane-Finch.

1.5 Research Question

The theories I employ may first seem overwhelming. The newspaper articles I examine are complex and sometimes contradictory. But, in the end, the question I seek to answer is a simple one: What knowledge and power relationships are embedded within depictions of Jane-Finch in popular Canadian newspapers in 2007?

1.6 Organization

I will examine my research question in four parts. First, I outline the existing literature and elaborate on relevant theoretical concepts. Second, I describe my methodology, including its merit and shortcomings. Third, I analyse and interpret newspaper coverage, looking for specific points in which Foucauldian power-knowledge

relationships enter representations of Jane-Finch. Finally, I present the implications of my work for further research.

Chapter Two provides an extended outline of the theoretical frameworks from which I base my analysis of newspaper articles. This chapter is supplemented with examples from the disciplines of media studies and cultural/social geography. The first section explores the ideas of Michel Foucault, whose concept of power-knowledge and surveillance provide crucial ontological frameworks for my study. The second section examines the work of Roland Barthes, who offers a valuable tool for exploring the connotations found in journalism. The third section examines Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, which applies these frameworks to the construction of place and community and provides a useful model for my study.

Chapter Three delineates the method I use to analyse 2007 newspaper articles in an attempt to reveal the power-knowledge relationships inherent in them. The first section briefly outlines the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of my method. The second section details the exact manner in which my analysis will be performed, based on the work of Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2006). The third section specifies the sources I use and my sampling procedure. And the fourth section outlines my final methodological considerations.

Chapter Four presents my findings after analysing and interpreting newspaper articles. I illustrate how surveillance, myth and a process akin to Orientalism are present in representations of Jane-Finch. I also demonstrate how these concepts can be used for further research.

Chapter Five examines the cultural and political implications of my findings. I address the importance as well as the limitations of the work I have undertaken while outlining where further investigation is needed.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

2.0 Introduction

Hall (2003c) suggests three major theoretical frameworks explain the way language represents the world. These frameworks are *reflection*, *intention* and *construction*. The first theory argues that language reflects the world. The words “Jane-Finch,” then, describe a geographical space. The adjectives we use reveal the characteristics of that space as it exists in reality. In essence, language holds up a mirror to the world. The second framework assumes the speakers (or writers, photographers, etc.) impose their meaning on the world. In this sense “Jane-Finch” accurately reflects what the speaker thinks of this space. Descriptions relay impressions of this neighbourhood as the speaker wishes to describe it. Finally, the constructionist approach sees language as imposing meaning on objects. Thus, as Hall (2003c) writes, “we should not confuse the *material* world, where things and people exist, and the *symbolic* practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate” (p. 25). Espousing the constructionist approach to language, “Jane-Finch” does not reflect the space or what the writer thinks of it. Instead, the geographical space *becomes* “Jane-Finch” because language imposes this meaning—and all of its connotations—on it.⁸

This constructionist approach unites the theorists I use to understand Canadian newspaper depictions of Jane-Finch. Foucault (2006) writes that “discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language (langue) and to speech. It is this

⁸ See also Deleuze and Guattari (2007) on “order-words,” which they explain are “not a particular category of explicit statements...but the relation of every word or every statement to implicit presuppositions” (p. 79).

‘more’ that we must reveal and describe” (p. 54). Foucault, Barthes and Said all question the way language imposes meaning on objects, and in doing so, how discourse does something “more.” Foucault does this by questioning the relationship of power and knowledge. Barthes does this by investigating the myths that underlie words and images. Finally, Said’s *Orientalism* builds on these two frameworks and examines places not as they exist in the material world but as they exist in representations of the world, which (re)produce a material reality. This chapter presents the theoretical foundations for each of these writers as they relate to my study.

2.1 Part 1: Foucault

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) contributed a vast amount of theory to academic disciplines including cultural studies and philosophy. In this section, I explore three of Foucault’s main ideas: power-knowledge, discursive practices, and panopticism.

2.1.1 Power-knowledge

The link throughout Foucault’s body of work has been its focus on knowledge and power. By the end of his career, these words became inseparable. “Power and knowledge directly imply one another,” writes Foucault (1995, p. 27). “There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (ibid). Thus, Foucault proposes the terms be fused into one: power-knowledge.

In one of his earliest works, *Madness and Civilization* (2001a [1966]), Foucault attempts to write “a history of the Other” (Young, 1995, p. 71). Here, Foucault

investigates historical concepts of the insane. This work, and its criticisms, has had major implications for how cultural theorists understand representations of the Other.

Foucault's work on madness represents an interesting parallel with representations of marginalised groups in society such as Jane-Finch residents. As critics such as Derrida (1978) point out, *Madness and Civilization* is not actually a history of the Other. The work is a history of the mainstream centre's *concept* of the Other (Derrida, 1978; Young, 1995). It could not be the history of madness qua Other because the idea of "madness" is a rational one. In other words, the rational define themselves as sane by way of not being mad. This concept of madness, thus, comes from within dominant, rational society. "If madness is constituted as madness, as other, by reason, then this means that reason is itself defined through it and therefore already contains and depends upon it" writes Young (1995, p. 72). Thus, Foucault encountered problems with these kinds of dialectical ideas early in his career. The concept of us-versus-them, Hegel's thesis and antithesis, is problematic. It presumes there are two disparate, identifiable groups that can oppose one another in direct confrontation. The problem, which Foucault's work leads us to, is that "they" can—and often do—come from "us." In this case, the mad are a product of rational civilization. This insight changed the way Foucault and many post-structuralist thinkers write about difference (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Young, 1995; Murdoch, 2006).

In the *Order of Things*, Foucault (2001b [1970]) reworks his earlier ideas:

The history of madness would be the history of the Other—of that which, for a given culture, is at once interior and foreign, therefore to be excluded (so as to exorcise the interior danger) but by being shut away (in order to reduce its otherness); whereas the history of the order

imposed on things would be the history of the Same—of that which, for a given culture, is both dispersed and related, therefore to be distinguished by kinds and to be collected together into identities (p. xxvi).

Within this reworking is the idea that power is not something inherent in one group and not another. Instead, power is heterogeneous.⁹ Foucault conceptualises power not like that of a sovereign who manifests authority through spectacle but as a web stretching out horizontally. “Power produces,” Foucault (1995) writes, “it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (p. 194). Ultimately, power constitutes and perpetuates itself through knowledge. This knowledge, as I will explore, is not formed by an objective reality. Rather, knowledge is imposed on objects through discourse to shape objective “reality.” In effect, even the term “reality” is a product of discourse.

2.1.2 Discursive Practices

Discourse is a loaded word. It can signify many things in many disciplines. This ambiguity is simultaneously a source of its value and its mystification. Macdonald (2007) defines discourse as “a system of communicative practices that are integrally related to wider social and cultural practices, and that help to construct specific frameworks of thinking” (p. 1). Jacobs (2006) writes that discourse, in a Foucauldian sense, “can be viewed as a complex set of competing ideas and values, all of which are actualised in our everyday practices” (p. 44). Parker (2005) offers that discourse “is the organization of

⁹ Foucault is explicit in his view of power as heterogeneous in *Power/Knowledge* (1980) and *Society Must Be Defended* (2003).

language into certain kinds of social bond” (p. 88). In this section, I examine the implications of Foucault’s concept of discourse while attempting to create a working definition of the term within this particular study.

Sawyer (2002) provides a valuable history of Foucauldian terminology in “A discourse on discourse: An archaeological history of an intellectual concept.” Briefly summarized, Sawyer argues that the term *discourse* has been used by English and French speakers since at least the 1940s. In fact, Lacan, Barthes, Derrida and Althusser commonly used *discours* in French conversation in Paris. After Foucault’s work became popular in French and English, the term started being attributed to the philosopher, often incorrectly, until it became common to write of “Foucauldian discourse” without a citation.

According to Sawyer (2002), Foucault first substituted the term “scientific discipline” with the new concept “discursive formation” in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (p. 436). It is important to note that where Mills (1997) gives Foucault’s definition of discourse as the “delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the age of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories” (p. 51), she is actually giving Foucault’s definition of “discursive practices,” which is not the same as “discourse.”

Foucault (2006) admits to using the term ambiguously in his work but claims that discourse, in the end, refers to “a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence” (p. 121). Here, it is important to understand that a method that seeks to identify “the general system of the formation and transformation of statements,” such as Mills’ (1997)

definition suggests, is not *discourse analysis* but *archaeology*. A discourse analysis is a more concentrated examination of specific objects and their places within discursive realms, whereas an archaeology seeks to bring such discursive formations, which form objects of discourse, into context. In short, an archaeology is much larger and broader in scope than a discourse analysis.¹⁰

Foucault shed earlier terms such as *discursive formations*, *archives* and *archaeology* after *Discipline and Punish* (1995 [1977]) and began using such terms as *apparatus*, *power-knowledge* and *genealogy* (Sawyer, 2002).¹¹ Though such terms follow a clear lineage in Foucault's own use, they have now become confused by many researchers writing on discourse analysis. While Sawyer's explanation is valuable, it seems to argue that if Foucault used the term discourse primarily in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2006 [1969]) and then stopped, so should everyone else. Sawyer contradicts his own advice when he acknowledges that "discourse" filled a gap for academics, particularly the British cultural studies theorists of the 1970s, who sought a word to replace *language* that connoted a more ideological and constructivist concept. Thus, if Foucault delivered this much-needed term, it would be senseless to stop using it simply because the word ceased to be *de rigueur* for Foucault himself.

Here, I take from Sawyer's (2002) article that *discourse* is, for argument's sake, a set of statements or groups of statements, which should not be confused with *power-knowledge* or *apparatus*. The latter refers to a broader set of concepts including discourse

¹⁰ I should note that I apply the steps of an archaeological study in my methodological approach, which I outline in Chapter Three. The scope of my study, however, places my work in the realm of discourse analysis.

¹¹ Here, I am not claiming that the latter terms replaced the former. I only allude to the changes in Foucault's terminology.

but also such things as institutions, architectural formations, laws and administrative measures. Thus, in Foucauldian discourse analysis there are *objects* within a *discourse*, *discourses* within *discursive formations* and *discursive practices*, and many more concepts that work to create *power-knowledge*.

In Chapter Three, I outline how I will apply a discourse analytic method to newspaper articles published in 2007. Here, I would like to focus on the theoretical implications of Foucauldian discourse analysis when considering the newspaper as my object of study. Foucault (2006) writes that “history is one way in which a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked” (p. 7). No doubt the newspaper is an important fixture in this process. “The language of newspapers is permanent,” writes Crissel (1986, p. 72). Newspaper articles can be accessed indefinitely and provide informative accounts of the past. Unlike radio or television, where, Crissel argues, the “newsreader sets an arbitrary pace and his [*sic*] words dissolve into thin air,” the newspaper is archived and much more accessible after its initial publication. This gives it permanence—and prominence—over other media.

The newspaper is an important discursive authority. Not only does the newspaper present itself as a source of expertise, it also relies on authoritative sources for facts and opinions. Those who are deemed experts in society have the ability to speak truth (Foucault, 2006). Because such authorities come from similar places (e.g., academe, the legal system, the government), and it is within these systems that the individuals maintain authority, experts generally assimilate to dominant discursive formations. If they did not, they would no longer be experts. This leads to a dilemma. Foucault writes that we must question “whether the unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and

uniqueness of an object as on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed” (p. 36). It is difficult to know whether newspapers create discourses or continuously perpetuate the discourses of certain privileged authorities. Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1987, 1989, 1991) observe that the news media perpetuate disciplinary and normalizing discourses linked to institutions such as the law, the economy and the political system. Ultimately, the news media situate meanings within a particular space in which they “breed and multiply” various meanings (Foucault, 2006, p. 112). One is left, Foucault suggests, not with an objective reflection of the world but with a violence done unto it by such discursive practices.

There is no escape from this violence within discourse. But Foucault acknowledges that actual institutions as well as political events and economic practices are part of a non-discursive realm related to discourse (Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1991; Macdonald, 2003). The problem, as Macdonald (2003) writes, is that Foucault fails to offer any instruction for understanding how these discursive and non-discursive elements intersect. In his own work, Foucault (1990, 1994, 1995) chooses to focus on the particular and not explore larger links between discursive and non-discursive fields. Because power is heterogeneous, its effect in one area does not necessarily translate into another. Thus, in my application of Foucault’s theoretical concepts, I must acknowledge that more happens in the constitution of Jane-Finch than is produced solely by newspapers. In the spirit of Foucault’s own specialised work, however, this particular instance of power-knowledge formation seems as good a place as any to focus my analysis.

While headlines, captions, and photographs generally elicit a large part of any discourse analysis, I am also concerned with silences. Foucault (2006) writes that

“manifest discourse” is, in actuality, “no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say” (p. 7). In other words, what is not mentioned or visually depicted is as important—if not more important—than what is explicitly discussed and shown to us. In this study, I pay a great deal of attention to issues and voices that are placed under erasure. Due to the immediate nature of daily journalism, silences relating to Jane-Finch generally involve historical concepts and systemic social issues such as racism, classism, and discrimination. Hall (1992) writes that when it comes to studying race in society, the most valuable information comes from what people do *not* say. He recalls that throughout the cultural studies movement in Britain, “it was the silences that told us something” (p. 15). Here, I apply such an outlook to race as well as issues involving class, sexuality and other factors.

2.1.3 Panopticism

Foucault (1995) finds the perfect model for his theory of disciplinary mechanisms and power-knowledge in Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon. In the late eighteenth century, Bentham proposed an idea for a prison. It would be circular with all inmates facing a central watchtower. This would allow guards to observe any prisoner at any time without the guard being seen. Bentham proposed a method for constant and anonymous surveillance; a model for gaining knowledge of individuals. This mechanism renders the subject forever visible while never revealing the source of objectification. Though Bentham never built the prison, Foucault takes this concept and applies it as a metaphor or social diagram for contemporary society. Panopticism—the idea that individuals have internalized this architecture and now live it—is an important concept in cultural

studies.¹² The panopticon not only demonstrates the implications of power-knowledge in modern surveillance and disciplinary techniques, it also situates these ideas in a conceptual and geographical space.¹³

The Panopticon, writes Foucault (1995), “must be understood as a generalisable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men [*sic*]” (p. 205). Panopticism is both a literal schematic and a model that translates (imperfectly) into daily lived experience.¹⁴ What the model demonstrates most explicitly is that a “perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly” (Foucault, 1995, p. 173). Visibility, thus, becomes a trap. The knowledge one gains of the subject through constant surveillance subordinates the individual and places him or her on the metaphoric periphery to be further observed. By focusing on the periphery, the central workings of the system are further obfuscated.

Dominant newspapers in Canada are one of many (im)perfect disciplinary mechanisms in contemporary society. By observing, detailing, and archiving difference, newspapers work to 1) continuously define the normal through opposition to the deviant on which they focus; and 2) persuade entire populations into taking on normalizing attitudes and functions. The newspaper, in this way, is part of “a machinery that assures dissymmetry, disequilibrium, difference” (Foucault, 1995, p. 202). As a medium, the newspaper is an analytical space where disciplines and discourses impose themselves on society. What we “know” about Jane-Finch says more about the discourses of the news

¹² The sheer number of references to Foucault’s panopticism in books and journals testifies to the concept’s importance. For some examples, see Benko & Strohmayer, 1997; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Driver, 1985; Elden & Crampton, 2007; Elmer, 1997, 2003; Gandy, 1993; Green, 1999; Hannah, 1997; Ignatieff, 1978; Johnston et al, 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Said, 1991, 2003; Skott-Myhre, 2006.

¹³ I explore the latter point in the section on Edward Said when investigating news discourses about Jane-Finch and how they create real and imaginary geographies.

¹⁴ For a discussion of contemporary panopticism, see Elmer (2003); Green (1999); and Hannah (1997).

media and their position in relation to law, economics and government than any sort of lived experience within that community.

Journalists often present themselves as independent and free from government interference—particularly in North America. I argue, however, that they contribute in a meaningful way to this process of knowing the Other in collaboration with other bureaucratic disciplines. Journalists work alongside governmental agencies to attain a sort of dominance-through-knowing. Foucault (1995) writes that as a state-run penitentiary the “Panopticon was also a system of individualizing and permanent documentation” (p. 250). Clearly, the newspaper is an extension of this practice. The invisibility of power is achieved through making the Other visible. If visibility is a trap, then the newspaper is a major trapper. “The exemplary effect once expected of the spectacle of the scaffold,” writes Foucault (1995), is now seen “not so much in the rigour of the punishments, as in the visible, branded existence of delinquency itself” (p. 279). This is one way in which the popular newspaper works as a disciplinary apparatus similar to the panopticon and watches the criminals on the outside. The journalist is conditioned to view his or her position as simply documentary and is therefore unconcerned with Foucauldian notions of power-knowledge. This does not negate the fact, however, that the journalist’s actions provide information about diverse subjects within the community and the world in a quick and accessible visual/textual form similar to the prison record of convicts. Anyone can read the newspaper and observe delinquency similar to the way in which anyone can inhabit the centre of the panopticon. “The exercise of power may be supervised by society as a whole” writes Foucault (1995, p. 207). The newspaper is one of the most popular discursive spaces where truths are presented and imposed on

subjects. Anyone can pick up a newspaper and read it in complicity with the centre.¹⁵ By focusing on such places as Jane-Finch, the newspaper obscures the more privileged locations of power.

An important element born in the emergence of the new disciplinary power, argues Foucault (1995), is the introduction of the criminal biography. The modern prison creates the idea of deviance, Foucault argues, simply by giving a name to the subject it now monitors. This exertion of power-knowledge over the individual is implemented through record keeping that “establishes the ‘criminal’ as existing before the crime and even outside it” (p. 252). The newspaper is a modern example, regularly publishing the photograph and name of criminal suspects who are arrested.¹⁶

I would like to extend this idea of the criminal biography to include the manufacture of the historical criminal space. In the criminal biography, individuals are presented as delinquents outside of, or even before, any delinquent act. The emergence of criminal spaces in the news media has a similar effect. The image of Jane-Finch as a criminal space, for example, is often represented outside and before any actual criminal act. As Rinaldo Walcott has argued in a recent interview, “when [journalists] do a story on the annual picnic, they say the people here need the picnic because this is a crime-ridden neighbourhood, so crime still dominates the story” (Richardson, 2007, p. 69). Just as the individual criminal is viewed as an Other and made visible, the criminal space is abjected from the greater metropolitan city to which it belongs and is made an outsider on

¹⁵ It is possible to read a newspaper in a resistant way. Many marginalized individuals likely perform this reading. However, to do so, one must still inhabit the position of the mainstream centre within this power-knowledge relationship, even if the goal is to look out from it sceptically or ironically.

¹⁶ Murray (1995) notes, however that “the gang member is denied a personal history or connection to society: he is known [only] by his record of transgressions and contempt for moral order” (p. 321). As I explore in Chapter Four, this is an issue not just in Chicago, where Murray bases his research.

the map that must be constantly monitored and documented. The criminal space embodies a collective of delinquents. Each time a person is charged with a criminal offense in such a place, the individual is linked to the geography to which he or she belongs and the area is “proven” to be inherently criminal *ad infinitum*. The newspapers create this space as criminal. By inhabiting Jane-Finch, for example, the resident is made the bearer of his or her own visibility and stigmatization through a simple connection to space/place.

2.1.4 Foucault and Geography

Foucault’s interest in—and applicability to—physical and conceptual space makes him a popular figure in post-structural geography (see Driver, 1985; Elden & Crampton, 2007; Gregory, 1989, 1995; Johnston et al., 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Murray, 1995). Murdoch (2006) refers to Foucault as “a significant geographical thinker” (p. 27) while others go so far as to say “Foucault...still lives for us” (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 1). The discipline of geography continues to provide an interesting lens for Foucault’s work. Power-knowledge, as Driver (1985) argues, is dependent upon the physical spaces in which negotiations of power and knowledge occur. Panopticism does not exist without walls, windows and other divisions as metaphor or in actuality.

When applying concepts of power and knowledge to physical space, advances in communication technologies create what Gregory (1989) refers to as geographies of domination. He argues that the advent of writing is closely linked with the origins of the state and the formation of class societies. Similarly, advancements in printing and the communications field “dramatically enhanced the surveillance capabilities of the state

and allowed it to penetrate much more deeply into the day-to-day lives of its subject populations” (Gregory, 1989, p. 83). This argument is closely aligned with Foucault’s (1995) ideas about the creation of disciplinary techniques based on scientific methods that systematically monitor individuals. In the same vein, Johnston et al. (2005) write that “disciplinary power depended on the installation of geographies of partition” (p. 810). These spaces work by separating and subdividing. They “assigned individuals to their ‘proper’ places” (ibid).

The way one conceives of physical spaces and works within them reproduces power-knowledge. Like Bentham’s prison, the idea of modern panopticism deals with physical division and classification. Foucault (1995) writes that in panopticism “there is not the ‘centre of power,’ not a network of forces, but a multiple network of diverse elements—walls, space, institution, rules, discourse” (p. 307). Jane-Finch continues to be first and foremost a geographical object that is constantly enclosed and classified. Many of the articles I examine focus on physical borders and landmarks. This is the crux of “Where boundary issues turn deadly” (Friesen, 2007) as well as “Security cameras surrounded shooting site” (Reinhard, 2007), and “A tenant revolution, but is anyone listening?” in which Daly and Monsebraaten (2007) write “whole communities like Jane-Finch...need to be razed and rebuilt” (p. ID4). Many articles rely on information from The United Way’s “Poverty by Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty” (MacDonnell et al., 2004). While I do not devalue this report, its authoritative linking of economic class and geographic space is an important aspect in the discourse of Jane-Finch. These specifications encase the spaces—Jane-Finch among others—that are to be

monitored. They also construct the centre as invisible through opposition to the borders and physicalities built around spaces like Jane-Finch.

The act of mapping, which I discuss further in Chapter Four, is closely linked to power-knowledge. Though cartography is supposedly objective, Foucault and others (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Harley, 1992; Pickles, 1992, 2005) view it as a discourse imposed on the environment rather than reflecting it. Pickles (2005) observes that “mapping and statistics [make] citizens visible in particular ways, rendering them subject to public administration” (p. 131). Thus, mapping is closely aligned with the concept of panopticism and discursive practices. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982) seem to agree, writing that “maps can be statements” (p. 45) in the discursive sense of the word.

2.1.5 Summarizing Foucault

In “The spectacle of the ‘Other,’” Hall (2003) asks “What is the secret fascination of ‘otherness,’ and why is popular representation so frequently drawn to it?” (p. 224). After outlining Foucault’s major theoretical contributions to the study of power and knowledge, one could surmise that the preoccupation with the Other in popular Canadian newspapers is nothing more than a social disciplinary mechanism; a way of observing and documenting the Other to preserve the invisibility of the centre. What the news media depict is less revealing than what it does *not* depict. In this case, power lies in the ability to know the Other. Panopticism is the perfect model of this arrangement, which is produced and reproduced imperfectly throughout contemporary culture. In the following section, I build on Foucault’s work and add Barthes’ concept of metalanguage, motivation, interpretation and the “rhetoric of the image.” This juxtaposition prepares us

for the explicit connections Said later makes involving myth and discourse as two important factors in conceiving of imaginary geographies.

2.2 Part 2: Barthes

Roland Barthes (1915-1980) wrote on such diverse topics as literature, linguistics, photography and fashion. This study's primary concern is with his concept of mythology. Barthes' model of myth was born out of the work of Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. In essence, Barthes (1972) began with Saussure's linguistic model and added to it a second sign system or "metalanguage." This second-order meaning system relates to the connotations of words and images rather than their denotations. This section explores Barthes' concept of mythology, investigates why individuals and institutions may be motivated to perpetuate myth, and examines modes of critically interpreting such practices. The section concludes by addressing how myth and semiology can be applied to newspaper photographs.

2.2.1 Myth

Before delving into Barthesian myth, one must first understand the significance of Saussure. His major work was published posthumously using lecture notes from classes taught roughly between 1906 and 1911 (Lemert, 2004). Saussure is influential in both structuralism and post-structuralism for his diachronic approach to language (Murdoch, 2006). Rather than lecturing on the historical developments of lexicons and dialects, Saussure explored the connection between the signifier (the written or spoken word) and

the signified (the object or idea the word represents). This relationship is depicted in figure 2.1.

SIGNIFIER ("Jane-Finch")	SIGNIFIED (An area in North-West Toronto)
SIGN	

Figure 2.1. Diagram of the sign (adapted from Saussure, 2007, p. 115).

For Saussure, difference—the difference between the words “Jane” and “Lane” for example—gives language meaning. The signifier “lane” does not naturally represent a narrow pathway or street. The word stands out, however, from other words such as “Jane” or “Main” because of its distinct combinations of sounds and letters. This relationship is arbitrary and socially constructed. The way language works, then, is by individuals acknowledging differences and conferring meanings upon them.

Barthes’ (1972) innovation is his idea of mythology as a second-order system above or in addition to the linguistic system. He writes that myth is not an object, a concept, or an idea. Instead, myth “is a mode of signification, a form” (Barthes, 1972, p. 109). On a linguistic level, the sign is comprised of a signifier and a signified. On a mythic level, the traditional linguistic sign becomes a signifier of second-order meanings. Not only does a linguistic signifier such as “Jane-Finch” denote a place in North-West Toronto, the term also connotes such concepts as immigration, violence, poverty and social degradation as second-order signifieds. Barthes describes this model visually in a diagram similar to figure 2.2.

1. Signifier ("Jane-Finch")	2. Signified (An Area in North-West Toronto)
3. Linguistic Sign I SIGNIFIER (Jane-Finch/An Area in North-West Toronto)	II SIGNIFIED (Immigration, Violence, Poverty, Social Degradation)
III MYTHICAL SIGN	

Figure 2.2. Diagram of Myth/LANGUAGE (adapted from Barthes, 1972, p. 115).

In what is arguably Barthes' most influential work, *Mythologies* (1972), he applies this second-order reading of myth to such things as wrestling, wine, stripteases and Einstein's brain. Barthes de-naturalises these cultural artefacts and forces one to accept the unsettling conclusion that all meanings are socially constructed. Gregory (1989) writes that "one of the most ideological impulses of all—the 'commonsense' response to the complexity of the world—is to impose a coherence and a simplicity which is, at bottom, illusory" (p. 91). This illusion is precisely what Barthes exposes.

Barthes' (1972, 1978, 1982) work has led many researchers to take up a mythological analysis of newspaper articles and the newspaper in general (see Cohen, 2005; Dahlgren & Sparks, 1992; Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1991; Hall, 1973, 2003a, 2003b; Hall et al., 1978; Koch, 1990; Lule, 1995). Heavily inspired by the work of Althusser, Hall (1973) uses Barthes' model and argues that newspapers fail to produce any new knowledge of the world. Instead, he argues, "concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper...produce *recognitions* of the world" (Hall, 1973, p. 186). Myth, in this way, is similar to stereotypes. They reinforce generalities about people and places. They confirm rather than challenge. Hall (2003b) defines stereotyping as an act that "reduces people [or places in this case] to a few simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature" (p. 257). This act is similar to the way Barthesian myth works by simplifying and naturalising socially-constructed associations. The

difference is that stereotypes work on a more conscious, linguistic level—one can talk about the stereotype that all Italians are involved in organized crime. Myth, however, works much more subtly.

One can speak of second-order signifieds only through what Hall (1973) refers to as “ugly neologisms” (p. 186). French-ness or working-class-ness are examples of these neologisms. Barthes (1978b) argues that it is important to distinguish, however, something like “Italianicity” from the concept of Italy (p. 48). Italianicity is “the condensed essence of everything that could be Italian, from spaghetti to painting” writes Barthes (1978b, p. 48). One sees such essences of the Jane-Finch resident in Canadian newspaper articles. These are all that we consider, with our “knowledge,” to be present in and essential to Jane-Finch; Jane-Finch-ness, in other words (see discussion in Chapter Four).

Myth has many different and changing signifiers. Take a simple concept such as violence. The act of using physical force to injure someone or damage something may be enclosed in the word “violence” but the idea of violent-ness, as Barthes would say, can be connoted in gestures, camera angles, descriptive words and even photograph captions. The work on moral panics by Cohen (2005 [1972]), Hall et al. (1978), and Young (1971) is also valuable when interpreting dominant news media and their use of myths or symbols that shift meaning over a period of time. Cohen’s publication *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The case of the Mods and the Rockers* is influential in the study of media and subculture (Bennett, 2000; Goode, Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Springhall, 1998). Although Cohen does not cite Barthes’ work directly (having published his work at about the same time as Barthes), he shares an interesting similarity. In Cohen’s (2005) discussion of

“symbolization,” he writes “neutral words such as place-names can be made to symbolize complex ideas and emotions” (p. 27). He adds that a single word such as “Mod” can eventually symbolise, through its use in popular media, a certain status such as “delinquent” or “deviant” (p. 27). On a non-verbal level, Cohen argues that even an inanimate object can symbolise the word. A haircut or style of clothing stands in for the Mod. “The Mod” then stands in for deviant youth as a contemporary threat to mainstream values. All this is derived from something as simple as a haircut or a jacket when placed in a specific context. Barthes’s work on “myth” and Cohen’s use of “symbolization” in moral panics are very similar.¹⁷

2.2.2 Motivation and Interpretation

What constitutes a Barthesian myth may still be debated. For the purposes of this study, Culler’s (1983) simple definition that “‘myth’ means a delusion to be exposed” (p. 33) works well. “Delusion,” here, does not mean that the idea is necessarily untrue but that historical and social contexts are erased so that the idea seems natural. Myth, thus, de-historicizes cultural artefacts. This is the delusion.

If one is to accept Culler’s definition, the question becomes who is delusional and how can one expose this delusion? Barthes (1972) claims that myth “presuppose[s] a signifying consciousness” (p. 110). This statement asserts two possibilities: the communicator (journalist, writer, editor, etc.) is consciously attempting to deceive the

¹⁷ This makes the work done on moral panics an interesting reference point in my own work. I make no claim, however, that representations of Jane-Finch constitute a moral panic in themselves. The extended and continuous nature of Jane-Finch coverage makes it more of a chronic problem than a temporary panic (even though attention seems to come in intense spurts). Furthermore, the folk devil in Cohen’s (2005) work “emerges to become defined as a threat” (p. 1) whereas Jane-Finch is contained through constant surveillance by the news media, which enforce physical and imaginary boundaries. There is no witch hunt precisely because everyone knows where the witch lives and how to avoid her.

reader; or, conversely, he or she is perpetuating an already-existing myth through their actions without knowing it. I should note that by “already-existing” I do not mean that myth is inherent in a culture. Barthes clearly states that “one can conceive of very ancient myths, but there are no eternal ones” (p. 110). In my analysis in Chapter Four, I approach newspaper articles as perpetuations of established myths. I make no claim, however, that this perpetuation was the journalist’s conscious intention. There are many ways in which the author may infuse myth into a representation of Jane-Finch without knowing it. The only way to explore the author’s intentions would be to conduct some kind of psychological analysis. This is beyond the scope of my study.

Motivation is an important issue to consider. Unlike a person’s intentions, which I view as the conscious goal of the author, motivation is more ideological and generally relates to the often-subconscious advancement of a group, be it class, ethnic, sexual or other. If myths are perpetuated, consciously or not, *why* becomes the critical question. Barthes (1972) speaks of motivation as “unavoidable” and “fragmentary” (p. 126). He has been criticised, however, for presenting myth as the strategy of an organized, dominant class (Thody, 1977). Thody argues that Barthes “ascribed the most alienating features of modern mass communications to a nefarious but ill-defined conspiracy entitled the bourgeoisie” (p. 50). An analysis of myth, Thody claims, is to make “people realise intellectually how fully they are being duped” (p. 49). Thody is apt in faulting Barthes for presupposing a passiveness on the part of the people if this is the case. As

Hall (2006) writes, “the notion of the people as a purely passive, outline force is a deeply unsocialist perspective” (p. 481).¹⁸ I do not think, however, that this is the case.

Barthes marks a strong shift between structuralism and post-structuralism. Though Barthes applies an “abstract analysis of underlying structures” he combines this methodology with “more impressionistic assessments of social context” (Murdoch, 2006, p. 7). This aspect separates him from the formalism of theorists like Saussure. While the critique of structuralism is that it removes human agency and social contexts, Barthes is instrumental in returning these concepts to the forefront of cultural analysis. Rather than viewing readers as mechanical, Barthes gives them power. Like Foucault, Barthes alludes to a heterogeneous power dynamic. “A text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” writes Barthes (1978c, p. 148). Thus, the reader is possibly *more* important in the second-order signifying process than the author.

Barthes clearly sees the analysis of myth as an interpretive act. “The birth of the reader,” he writes, “must be at the cost of the death of the Author” (Barthes, 1978c, p. 148). If semiology is the science of signs, for Barthes it is a science only in a post-structuralist sense. That is to say the semiologist presents hypotheses and assertions about

¹⁸ Hall does not fall into this trap of blaming the bourgeoisie. However, Hall often problematically resorts to blaming the journalist. Take, for example, the following statement: “Most news editors would give preference to a photo signifying violence in a political context. They would defend their choice on the grounds that violence represents conflict, grips the reader’s interest, is packed with action, serious in its consequences” (Hall, 1973, p. 184). In this statement, “most news editors” are presented as monolithic, their arguments pre-existing and their motivations seemingly insincere and utterly predictable. This tendency to stereotype the stereotyper is frequently employed by Barthes, Hall and many other cultural critics (Olstead, 2002; Cohen, 2005; Dreier, 2005). This mode of criticism must be avoided because it commits the same intellectual crimes being pursued by these critics.

the meanings of texts but does not claim definitive underlying truths. Only the reader knows how myth is perceived.¹⁹

Following Barthes, I make no assumption that newspaper readers are purely passive or homogenous. Nor are journalists and editors representative of a monolithic group that seeks to dupe readers. This does not negate the existence of second-order meanings, which perpetuate stereotypes of Jane-Finch. It simply means no one is stroking a beard behind a desk and maniacally planning to dupe the masses. This study strives to present a framework for negotiating and resisting such exertions of power regardless of how they are infused in the text.

At this point, I must briefly address the relationship of the reader to the writer of myth. Barthes (1978c) is clear in “The Death of the Author” that meaning is dependent upon the reader rather than the author. It would be a mistake, however, to assert that my study should therefore focus on the perception of readers rather than the text itself. First, any meaning a reader derives from a text would have to be connoted in some way by the text. Different readers may see different connotations but each of these elements must be present in the text to be read. The only way a reader would see something that was not in the text would be in the case of projection or transference, to borrow two terms from psychoanalysis. In this case, however, the individual would not be able to support the readings with evidence from the text. Secondly, any reading of the text would have to be expressed through language and thus become interpolated into particular discourses. If

¹⁹ Attributing this amount of agency to the reader may be overestimating the self-knowledge of the individual. As Young (1990) writes, this idea “presupposes that a subject can know himself or herself and express that knowledge accurately and unambiguously to others” (p. 31). Ultimately, I am inclined to side with her argument that “any individual is a play of differences that cannot be comprehended [by the self or others].” Thus, one can never fully know how something is interpreted. The best one can offer is a convincing argument and supportive evidence.

the reader were to say something like “I see this image as being racist,” one would then have to assess what exactly the individual’s concept of racism includes. Furthermore, if an individual were to claim *not* to see a racist image in a text, this would not mean that such connotations are not being interpreted by the individual. It could simply be that the individual is not conscious of the full extent to which he or she reads the text. Certain stereotypical notions could seem so natural to the individual that he or she sees only a fact of nature. Ultimately, any response to a text becomes a text itself that must be critically interpreted. This process will repeat infinitely. For this reason, I perform an interpretation of the primary text, the newspaper article, supporting my readings with evidence and leaving room for further research to extend into reader interpretations.

After establishing that myth is present in seemingly-objective texts such as newspaper articles, the task is to expose these deceptive representations. This research within sign systems, I believe, necessitates a semiological approach. Saussure (1990) defines this as a “science that studies the life of signs within society” (p. 56). He argues semiology is part social psychology, part general psychology and, of course, part linguistics. I should note, however, that despite Barthes’ semiological language, particularly when writing *Mythologies*, critics argue that Barthes actually performs a “social psychoanalysis” (Thody, 1977, p. 44). Thody claims that Barthes likely adopted Saussure’s terminology to legitimate his work after publishing in *Les Lettres nouvelles*. Psychoanalysis was out of style but structuralism and semiology was in. So Barthes adopted the new lexicon. Critics like Thody and Mounin²⁰ fail to mention, however, that Barthes does not hide the influence of Freud’s psychoanalytic theory on his work. In fact,

²⁰ Georges Mounin was Barthes’ “professional rival” and allegedly questioned whether Barthes would ever see what semiology “really meant” (Thody, 1977, pp. 39-40).

Barthes (1972) writes that Freudianism is “another semiological system” (p. 119). Thus, whether Barthes’ approach is defined as semiological or social psychoanalytical it makes little difference if the latter is actually a version of the former.

For the purposes of this paper, I will adopt the framework that the linguistic sign works as a signifier for a second-order signified, which can present itself in multiple and shifting forms. Myth is, after all, a *form* and not a fixed object. This necessitates a subjective and time-sensitive analysis. I acknowledge that twenty years from now, I may not have the same interpretations. I will put forward an argument with supporting premises but make no claim to have the *correct* or *only* reading possible. Thus, just as Barthes (1972) uses phrases like “I see very well what it signifies to me” (p. 116), I perform an interpretive analysis in which my subjectivity is implied throughout.

2.2.3 *The Windowpane as Alibi*

Residents of marginalized communities are often unable to successfully debate news stories because the logical complaint would be to say “that’s not true.” In response, the journalist demonstrates that all facts have been corroborated and that the story is therefore “true.” I argue, however, the journalist’s “truth” is not the truth to which such a hypothetical response would refer. Herein lies the efficacy of Barthes’ theory. There is always an “alibi” that allows the creator of myth to claim that second-order meaning is unintentional or nonexistent. Unlike our common notion of an “alibi,” as seen perhaps in police dramas, the alibi in myth is a “perpetual” one. To illustrate this point Barthes (1972) uses the example of the windowpane:

At one moment I grasp the presence of the glass and the distance of the landscape; at another, on the contrary, the transference of the glass and

the depth of the landscape; but the result of this alternation is constant:
 the glass is at once present and empty to me, and the landscape unreal
 and full (pp. 123-124).

This metaphor reveals the problem in analysing and confronting myth. Residents who argue that certain newspaper articles perpetuate stereotypes of their community may be arguing about the windowpane. This makes it easy for the journalist to claim he/she is only interested in the landscape. As Barthes demonstrates, the two are always present but never in the same place.²¹

2.2.4 The Photograph

Barthes elaborates on the photograph much more than Foucault and Said. For this reason, my theoretical approach to analysing the images in newspapers comes from Barthes and those who follow his ideas (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1992; Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1991; Hall, 1973, 2003; Koch, 1990; Lule, 1995). This section explores just what a photograph is, how it operates, and what techniques can be used to analyse this medium.

The invention of photography fused two seemingly disparate concepts: art and technology. The former is traditionally subjective, the latter objective. To approach photography as solely objective art or as subjective machinery is necessarily problematic. Here, I limit my investigation of photography to how the medium presents “factual” information within popular Canadian newspapers. “The more technology develops the diffusion of information (and notably of images),” writes Barthes (1978b), “the more it

²¹ Barthes also presents the image of the windowpane when dealing with photography. “The photograph belongs to that class of laminated objects whose two leaves cannot be separated without destroying them both: the windowpane and the landscape, and why not: Good and Evil, desire and its object: dualities we can conceive but not perceive” (Barthes, 1982, p. 6).

provides the means of masking the constructed meaning under the appearance of the given meaning” (p. 46). Photography is invisible—not as an image, of course, but as a language. It is never the *photograph* one sees but the object *in* the photograph. Unlike paintings or drawings, which make the medium resonate through brushstrokes or cross-hatching techniques, photography always refers to something else; never to itself. “In the image,” Barthes (1982) writes, “the object yields itself wholly, and our vision of it is *certain*—contrary to the text or to other perceptions which give me the object in a vague, arguable manner, and therefore incite me to suspicions as to what I think I am seeing” (p. 106).

Barthes (1978a) argues the newspaper photograph is a message. The absence of a code, however, makes this message special. Unlike traditional language, which takes the represented object and converts it into a sign system that is subsequently interpreted by the receiver, the photograph simply *is*. This absence of a conventionally coded system, argues Barthes (1978b), reinforces the myth that photography is a natural expression, that “the scene *is there*, captured mechanically, not humanly” (p. 44). Hall (1973) writes that “news photos operate under a hidden sign marked, ‘this really happened, see for yourself’” (p. 188). The photograph does not *transform* reality but it presents a specific frame, perspective, and tone. The choice of objects in a photo also evokes certain mythical concepts. The photograph offers various signifying units (Barthes, 1982). Alone, each signifying unit may not have any mythological referent. Together, “connotation somehow ‘emerges’ from all these signifying units which are nevertheless ‘captured’ as though the scene were immediate and spontaneous, that is to say, without signification” writes Barthes (1978a, p. 23). The whole is therefore greater than the sum

of its parts. The photograph presents a rhetoric. Social researchers can analyse and interpret second-order meanings by reading this rhetoric in the image.

Though the photograph uses rhetoric, it does not present an argument.²² “No photograph has ever convinced or refuted anyone” writes Barthes (1978a, p. 30). The purpose of the photograph, then, is to deny or confirm the argument presented in the text. The newspaper article that depicts Jane-Finch as a criminal space will not refute this image with a peaceful photograph of children playing (unless, perhaps, the story is about innocence lost). Instead, a story will likely present police officers arresting a resident or some scene of this nature. The photograph’s rhetoric is not argumentative but validating. It does not argue Jane-Finch is a criminal space. The text does that. The photograph simply says “I told you so.” Barthes (1982) writes that the photograph is violent. This is not because the photograph depicts violent things but because “on each occasion *it fills the sight by force*, and because in it nothing can be refused or transformed” (p. 91).

Barthes argues the relationship the text has with the image has subtly changed over history. Whereas the image once gave meaning to the story the situation is now reversed. “The text loads the image,” writes Barthes (1978a), “burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination” (p. 26). The text has a repressive effect. It limits the interpretation of the image. It thrusts a meaning upon it. Barthes writes that the text “constitutes a parasitic message designed to connote the image, to ‘quicken’ it with one or more second-order signifieds” (p. 25). In this way, the text and image must be

²² Finnegan (2001) states, however, the single argument of the photograph is that its subject exists. “Regardless of what else a photograph communicates, at minimum it is continually making an argument about its own realism” (p. 143). Finnegan refers to this implicit argument as the “naturalistic enthymeme.”

examined separately for their connotations and then together for additional meanings not present when each is investigated separately.

A reading of the image is contingent upon the cultural knowledge one possesses.²³ Two individuals with different educations, upbringings and histories could interpret an image completely differently. Hall (1973) writes that the “conjuncture of the immediate, the political, the historical and the mythic...lends an extraordinary complexity to the deciphering of the visual sign” (p. 188). The press photograph, however, attempts to steer the readers into a fairly common understanding by positioning and contextualising it within the scope of the article. A well-executed photograph will play with the idiosyncrasies of readers’ knowledges, encouraging and inspiring multi-level readings. The preferred reading, however, is always most evident.

The caption can be, argues Barthes (1978a), the most subtle weapon in the mythology of newspapers. This descriptive sentence or two is often presumed innocent; it merely tells the reader what is in the photograph, identifying individuals and places. As I demonstrate in Chapter Four, the various descriptions one finds for the same photograph are telling. The captions to the same photograph of Jordan Manners found in *The London Free Press*, *The Vancouver Sun*, and *The Toronto Star*, describe him as “[a] teen [who] turned 15 just six days before he was fatally shot” (Godfrey, 2007, p. A5), “killed Wednesday in a shooting at the school” (Rook, 2007, p. A4), and simply “mourned” on the cover of the *Toronto Star* on May 23, 2007. The caption, like the photograph itself, is not neutral.

²³ Photographs may also add to one’s cultural knowledge while, at the same time, being contingent upon previous knowledge.

2.2.5 Summarizing Barthes

Barthes' work provides a critical way of talking about what had before been unspeakable. Language, as Barthes most clearly exemplifies, functions as more than denotative. Often, it is not so much what is written, said or shown that forms one's opinion of the world. Instead, it is how these signs relate to other socially-constructed myths in a cultural context. Barthes highlights this with his model of mythology and his discussion of photography and it is for this reason I use him to support the theoretical framework of Foucault on which I base my study.

2.3 Part 3: Said

Said's work, like that of Foucault and Barthes, has expanded into many disciplines over the last half-century. In this review, I limit my examination of Said (1935-2003) to his most famous and controversial book: *Orientalism* (2003 [1978]). Twenty-five years after its original publication, Said (2003) writes that *Orientalism* "is still a book about culture, ideas, history, and power, rather than Middle Eastern politics *tout court*" (p. xvii). This section discusses Orientalism as a parallel to the processes at work in Canadian newspaper representations of Jane-Finch and takes from his investigation a useful model for my own research.

2.3.1 Orientalism

For Said (2003), the way the West discusses, depicts and "knows" the East is far from objective. Building on the work of Foucault, Said argues that how one speaks about "the Orient" does more than describe it. This discourse *creates* the Orient. No matter how

objectively one speaks of the East, Said argues that “no production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its author’s involvement as a human subject in his [*sic*] own circumstances” (p. 11). One’s position ideologically and culturally affects how one sees and depicts physical and conceptual spaces. In this sense, the Orient—like Jane-Finch—exists not so much in reality as in our agreed upon “knowledge” of it. Said (2003) writes:

Orientalism was the distillation of essential ideas about the Orient—its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habits of inaccuracy, its backwardness—into a separate and unchallenged coherence; thus for a writer to use the word *Oriental* was a reference for the reader sufficient to identify a specific body of information about the Orient. This information seemed to be morally neutral and objectively valid; it seemed to have an epistemological status equal to that of historical chronology or geographical location (p. 205).

In this quotation, a similarity resonates between Said’s critique of Orientalism, Foucault’s theory of discursive formations and Barthes’ mythology. The language used to depict the Orient works only in relation to other texts, which situate it within various discourses as Foucault might say. Such representations seem unbiased and natural but nevertheless connote socially-constructed concepts similar to Barthesian myth. The irreducible element to my theoretical framework that Said adds is in his model of exactly how a geographical space can be created by an outside group in an attempt to dominant the space morally, culturally, and economically.

The theory of Orientalism presents a valuable analogue to the way one comes to “know” Jane-Finch. In fact, because a significant number of inhabitants of this North-West Toronto neighbourhood have Eastern backgrounds, many of the same tropes Said

writes about already somewhat apply to representations of these Canadians. The largest ethnic groups in the area include East Indian, Chinese and Vietnamese populations (City of Toronto, 2001). The percentage of visible minorities in Jane-Finch is 71%, compared to the City of Toronto with 43%. This includes a population that is 21.1% black in Jane-Finch compared to the city average of 8.3%, 15.5% South Asian compared to 10.3%, and 7.1% Southeast Asian compared to 1.4%. Jane-Finch is, of course, inside rather than outside of the country depicting it. This is a major difference between Said's *Orientalism* and my study.

I borrow from Said's *Orientalism* in addition to Barthes' and Foucault's work because Said has already taken the impressive step of transporting these theoretical frameworks of discourse, power-knowledge and myth and applied them—rather famously—to notions of space and culture in the lived world. While it would be conceivable to conduct my analysis with only the conceptual frameworks Foucault and Barthes, I would be forced to articulate how such theories can apply to such lived realities, which is not a simple task. Said provides a valuable analogue to my work, already having negotiated these concepts in a similar way. For this reason, I view Foucault's work as my theoretical foundation. Barthes's mythology provides a structure for closer analysis of words and images. And perhaps most important, Said's *Orientalism* works as the material that converts these theoretical building blocks into a recognisable edifice. By analysing Said in this way, I demonstrate how he has already harnessed the work of these theoreticians and applied them to a specific geographic and cultural space much like I intend to do.

2.3.2 Foucault's Influence

Foucault's concept of discursive practices laid the theoretical groundwork for *Orientalism*. Early in the book, Said (2003) mentions Foucault, writing that “without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient” (p. 3). Said is concerned with how representations depict, manage and produce knowledge of people and places. Through this knowledge, he argues, the West is able to exercise immense power over its (former) colonies. Thus, the relationship of power and knowledge is an important one within Orientalism as it is in Foucault's work. Hall (2003) summarizes these similarities, writing that “Said's discussion of Orientalism closely parallels Foucault's power-knowledge argument: a *discourse* produces, through different practices of *representation* (scholarship, exhibition, literature, painting, etc.), a form of *racialized knowledge of the Other* (Orientalism) deeply implicated in the operations of *power* (imperialism)” (p. 260).

The Orient as geographic space becomes assimilated into various disciplines with the (re)production of power-knowledge. It is something that the West judges (within the law), studies (within curriculum), and disciplines (within schools and prisons) (Said, 2003). This is how, Said (2003) writes, the “Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks” (p. 40). One must therefore examine not only the discourses that produce knowledge of the Orient but also the heterogeneous apparatuses that aid its formation and reproduction. In this study, dominant Canadian newspapers, as part of the broader notion of “the media,” are one such apparatus. This is the point from which one

looks out onto “the Orient.”²⁴ Other apparatuses, however, play an integral role in the information disseminated in newspapers. Police officers, lawyers, and academics are just some of the expert sources used to convey official information and opinions through dominant discourses. (Even when individual residents are interviewed about personal experiences, these utterances only become part of the dominant discourse when mediated by professional journalists and published in newspapers. Conversely, the utterance of the resident on the street has no real cache until brought into the discourse of this “official” record of events.)

Knowledge of the Orient, once it is produced, can change just like discourses or *épistèmes*. Said (2003) writes that “the object of such knowledge is...a ‘fact’ which, if it develops, changes, or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently do, nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable” (p. 32). Applying this idea to Jane-Finch, the object of knowledge may change in terms of how it is represented but Jane-Finch the physical space will always be moulded by pseudo-objective authorities as a place/space with essential properties. “Authority here means for ‘us’ to deny autonomy to ‘it,’” writes Said, “since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as we know it*” (p. 32). This knowledge has the effect of culturally and ideologically dominating the object.

Orientalism, so far, appears to be an application of Foucault’s work on an actual thing, real or imagined. Said differs from Foucault, however, in one major respect. Said

²⁴ Throughout this discussion, I refer to “the Orient” and “Jane-Finch” virtually interchangeably rather than highlighting in each selected passage that Said’s theoretical work on “the Orient” represents an analogue to my own work on Jane-Finch. Both terms represent objects of discourses that are imposed on them from outside. This is not to say that the characteristics or representations of the Orient and Jane-Finch are the same in any other way. Here, I am concerned only with the relationship of the object to the power-knowledge formations into which it becomes interpolated. I am therefore taking Said’s specific theory of an historical relationship and using it to comprehend a more general theory of how discourse (re)produces geographically-specific places and cultures.

(2003) makes reference to Orientalism as a “discursive formation” (p. 23), which positions this process within a structural system similar to Foucault’s in that change is beyond the control of any particular individual. Said argues, however, that individuals *do* possess agency in this arrangement. One problem, however, is that Said only cites authors who contribute to Orientalism. How one would resist this process is not specifically articulated in *Orientalism* (2003 [1978]), even though the possibility is affirmed and made more explicit in later works such as *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). Said leaves little room in *Orientalism* for exploring how one can harness the potential of what Foucault (2003) later terms “subjugated knowledges,” which could present alternatives to Orientalist discourses.²⁵

Orientalism is most similar to Foucault’s work during the late-1960s and 1970s, specifically his idea of panopticism in *Discipline and Punish* (1995). “Said’s engagements with Foucault are neither uncritical nor unchanging, but throughout his writings he retains a considerable respect for Foucault’s spatial sensibility” writes Gregory (1995, p. 455). Said’s critique of Orientalism and Foucault’s critique of the prison system are connected in two major ways. The first is that the geographical separations and partitions built around the Orient and the Occident are similar to those in Foucault’s work. The geographic metaphor in this case follows that the Orient is always visible like the prisoner while the academics and writers whose work the West relies upon inhabit the unseen central watchtower, always looking outward. The second similarity is in how the centre (i.e., the West) forms a sense of identity in contrast to the

²⁵ Foucault (2003) defines “subjugated knowledges” as “historical contents that have been buried or masked in functional coherence or formal systematizations” as well as “a whole series of knowledges that have been disqualified as nonconceptual knowledges...that are below the required level of erudition or scientificity” (p. 7).

periphery (i.e., the Orient). I explore this concept of identity formation later in this section. First, I examine the concept of geographical space implied by Orientalism.

Said (2003) writes that in Orientalism “no dialectic is either desired or allowed. There is a source of information (the Oriental) and a source of knowledge (the Orientalist)” (p. 308). In Jane-Finch, news and information is derived from events and experiences in the neighbourhood. But it is professional journalists—the analogues to Orientalists—that provide and disseminate knowledge. Here, one sees a clear link to Foucault’s carceral system. Orientalism is therefore an example of Foucault’s perfect disciplinary model in action. Orientalism, like panopticism, relies on the detailed description of the object. These descriptions lead to the object’s greater visibility. Conversely, those detailing it hide themselves in their descriptions.

“Geography,” writes Said (2003), “was essentially the material underpinning for knowledge about the Orient. All the latent and unchanging characteristics of the Orient stood upon, were rooted in, its geography” (p. 216). We return here to the idea of making the subordinate visible and hiding the major locations of power. This dynamic is also present in the frequent use of maps and geographical descriptions of spaces in newspapers when crimes are committed in Jane-Finch. Notice how maps and geographic accounts are virtually never used when a Premier or a CEO makes an announcement. Such depictions, as Cameron (2006) writes, “are now used to identify, define (i.e., to produce) and map the socially excluded—but, importantly, *not the socially included*” (p. 400, emphasis in original).

Gregory (1995) argues that Said’s work is full of imagery of partition and enclosure that closely parallels Foucault’s. “This sense of territory,” he writes,

“establishes a connective imperative among power, knowledge and geography that Said’s own project seeks to disclose, call into question and, in its turn, dis-place” (p. 452).

Ultimately, this is the value of Said’s work and why I have chosen to focus on him in addition to Foucault and Barthes. The French theorists provide a foundation for questioning knowledge, power, myth and language. But this, on its own, is of little value to a project that seeks to understand these things as they relate to a physical space/place involving thousands of living, breathing individuals. Said provides this understanding. This is the indispensable aspect of *Orientalism* that takes Said beyond the work of his predecessors. Even with panopticism’s reliance on space and physicality, it remains a largely abstract idea. Said delivers a concrete implementation of Foucault’s theoretical work. As Said (1994) later writes, “just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle...is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings” (p. 7). Said’s *Orientalism* eloquently links these violent physical realities with the intellectual imaginings of which he writes.

2.3.3 *Myth in Orientalism*

Said (2003) argues that myth *is* discourse. He qualifies this statement, writing that myth, like discourse, “cannot be anything but systematic; one does not really make discourse at will, or statements in it, without first belonging...to the ideology and the institutions that guarantee its existence” (p. 321). Myth and discourse are closely related in that they depend on a wide net of intertextuality for meaning; one person cannot create or alter myth or discourse alone. Both concepts play crucial roles in *Orientalism*. Said

refers to the Orient as a “semi-mythical construct” (p. xviii). Like Jane-Finch, the Orient is based on a geographical space. But how that space is represented by the news media and other apparatuses creates an idea that extends far beyond its physicality.

Myth is continually worked upon. Said (2003) refers to this process as a dialectic of reinforcement. “The experiences of readers in reality,” he writes, “are determined by what they have read, and this in turn influences writers to take up subjects defined in advance by readers’ experiences” (p. 94). Myth, thus, has a perpetual nature. As outlined before, myth can be very old but never eternal. The perpetuation of myth, then, is contingent upon the repetition of certain representations. These tropes or stereotypes repeat until they seem natural and inherent in the object. The Orient takes on certain characteristics that then weigh on the perceptions of others.

Said presents an interesting explanation of how geographical spaces take on mythic connotations using the metaphor of a house. Referring to Bachelard’s poetics of space, Said (2003) writes:

The objective space of a house—its corners, corridors, cellar, rooms—is far less important than what poetically it is endowed with...a house may be haunted, or homelike, or prisonlike, or magical. So space acquires emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here (p. 55).

Continuing with this metaphor, I argue that the news media are among the poets. They add layer upon layer of myth to the house. This process is all the more intense because of the “objectivity” of journalism. One expects figurative and emotional language from

traditional poetry. But journalism is presumed to be objective, unsentimental and free of bias. Here, mythical layering is more potent because the reader is less likely to look for it.

Said approaches myth from a psychoanalytical position. He concerns himself with two aspects of Orientalism: the latent and the manifest. The former is unchanging. The latter is altered with time and individual practices. Though Said uses the language of Freud, Young (1995) argues, his model “seems to resemble less the operation of the dream work than Foucault’s ‘positive unconscious of knowledge’ or even Saussure’s distinction between *langue* and *parole*” (p. 130). Whichever way one wishes to describe these concepts, they present a valuable framework for analysing myth, particularly when examining representation. Descriptions of such places as the Orient or Jane-Finch may now be more politically correct, but these changes remain part of the manifest. The latent Orientalism is unchanging. Said argues that this latent Orientalism continues to supply the “enunciative capacity” that positions statements within larger concepts and established ways of thinking (Said, 2003, p. 222).

Said (2003) uses the work of Lévi-Strauss to explain why the Orient retains certain connotations. He writes that the “mind requires order, and order is achieved by discriminating and taking note of everything, placing everything of which the mind is aware in a secure, refindable place” (Said, 2003, p. 53). In other words, the human brain cannot comprehend the world by remembering and analysing every person, object and event with all their idiosyncrasies. So one groups things together. One assigns values, meanings, and connotations. If such connotations are “made by man” writes Said, then “we will appreciate how possible it is for many objects or places or times to be assigned roles and given meanings that acquire objective validity only *after* the assignments are

made” (p. 54). Turning again to the example of Jane-Finch as a criminal space, crime and deviance only become inherent in this space *after* such associations are formed. If Jane-Finch was repeatedly presented as a wonderful place for raising children, this concept would arguably seem natural and matter-of-fact today.

2.3.4 Identity and the Other

The theory of Orientalism is perhaps most valuable for helping us understand identity formation. Said argues that the West’s gaze upon the Orient was what enabled Europeans to shape a strong collective identity. Contrasting themselves with the “backward” and “primitive” ways of the Orient, Said argues, Europeans defined themselves as sophisticated and rational beings. This notion is not unique to Said. In 1976, Jean-Paul Sartre writes that “the European has only been able to become a man through creating slaves and monsters” (as cited in Young, 1995, p. 125). It is a popular theme in cultural studies, stemming from theories in psychoanalysis and linguistics, that one can only define oneself in relation to an Other (Hall, 2003; Lemert, 2004; O’Brien & Szeman, 2004). And, as Said (2003) writes, the Orient is Europe’s “deepest and most recurring images of the Other” (p. 1).

The dichotomy Said employs is simple. It converts the sum of humanity into *us* and *them*. This simplicity, however, makes the concept so effective. “People who are in any way significantly different from the majority—‘them’ rather than ‘us,’” writes Hall (2003), “are frequently exposed to this *binary* form of representation” (p. 229). It is what allows individuals to understand the world and their roles in it. Derrida (1997 [1974]) points out that these binary configurations work by privileging one concept above the

other. White/black. Masculine/feminine. Citizen/alien. In sum, one is normal while the other is abnormal; different. The latter becomes visible to normalise the former.

Orientalism is an intellectual process—in that apparatuses of power are based more on the mind than on physicality—but it is also a geographical process. Without geography there would be no representation, no marginalization, no Other. “The analysis of the dialectics of the centre and the margin,” writes Young (1995), “operate[s] geographically as well as conceptually” (p. 18). In each case, the centre is obscured, looked out from, made invisible to scrutiny by focusing attention on the Other. Said allows an examination of this hidden centre. Vast amount of information about the Orient (now generally referred to as the Middle-East) continue to be collected and worked upon. There is also an enormous amount of information being collected on a local level about Jane-Finch. Said’s *Orientalism* turns the focus away from these objects. He reminds us what is most important is not this carefully-defined Other but the unseen centre that collects and defines it. As Cameron (2006) points out, “the meaning and location of the mainstream is routinely taken to be self-evident. As this implies, social inclusion is most commonly defined only *negatively*—as whatever is *not socially excluded*” (p. 397, emphasis in original). The mainstream press does not have to address central forms of inclusion, power and knowledge because attention is posited toward the Other. This play of visibility and invisibility is central to identity formation on an individual level as well as culturally and socially.²⁶

²⁶ The scope of this study does not allow me to vigorously investigate identity formation on a personal, psychological level (I am more concerned with developing a nuanced criticism of the texts that contribute to this formation). I am aware, however, that this is an aspect that can and should be taken up in future research. Bhabha (1994), Fanon (1967; 2005), Nandy (1980, 1983, 1994) and Said (1993) would likely provide a strong starting point for this research.

2.3.5 Problems with Orientalism

In my discussions of Foucault and Barthes, I integrated whatever flaws I perceived into the general section with which they were concerned. With Said, however, so many considerations exist that I need to address them in a separate section. This does not devalue *Orientalism*. It demonstrates, however, the difference between theory and practice. I was primarily concerned with the ideas of Barthes and Foucault. Conversely, I am interested in Said's *application* of ideas to a geographical place/space that is on one hand imaginary and on the other, real.²⁷ *Orientalism* forces Said to make certain decisions when applying theories to specific objects and practices. Among the problems involved in this application, I focus on four: the difficulty in speaking about Orientalism; the vilifying of authors; the dependency on high culture and textualism; and the general problems of representation.

Much criticism of *Orientalism* has been directed at the very nature of Said's work (Butz, 1995; Clifford, 1980; Driver, 1992; Lowe, 1991; Young, 1995). In examining the essentialising practices of Orientalism, Said stands accused of essentialising the Orientalist. In other words, talking about Orientalism can be perceived as Orientalism in reverse (Butz, 1995; Lowe, 1991; Young, 1995). Young (1995) writes that "any account of 'Orientalism' as an object, discursive or otherwise, will both repeat the essentialism that [Said] condemns and, more problematically, will itself create a representation that cannot be identical to the object it identifies" (p. 128). Any work on representation opens itself up for criticisms because it represents the representations. At this point in my research, it seems that no solution to this problem exists. I attempt to make my

²⁷ "The Orient" may be imaginary but Egypt, Pakistan and India (among other nations) are real places in a geo-political sense.

methodological executions and their critical frameworks as transparent as possible in response to this shortcoming but acknowledge that its existence is unavoidable.

In addition to *how* the object is represented, the critic must ask *what*, in fact, is represented? Butz (1995) points out that *Orientalism* can be viewed merely as a way of essentialising the West. “*Orientalism* resembles the Orientalist texts it critiques,” writes Butz, “by using an imaginary Orient as a vehicle for talking, once again, about Europe” (p. 65). I think the most important question to stem from this criticism is for *whom* is Said writing? If my own study is to meaningfully take up Said’s work, I must, myself, ask for *whom* my study is being conducted? This is an examination of popular newspaper depictions of Jane-Finch. Clearly, two interested parties should be journalists and residents.²⁸ Butz writes that “there is no position outside the discourse. But an implication of a hybrid world...is that we can all adopt a marginal position from which to ‘voyage in’” (p. 78). I hope that this study can provide a valuable examination for anyone who feels on the margins of society and seeks a position from which to criticise it meaningfully.

The tendency in *Orientalism*, as in much of cultural studies, is to argue that those who speak ill of a certain group are themselves villains. As I explore in Chapter Three, many writers who study representation end up saying something to the effect of “the media misrepresent subject x; in reality, subject x is much more diverse and complex than the media portray it.” Such arguments are at the heart of many discourse analyses

²⁸ This is not to essentialise either of these two groups. There are residents of Jane-Finch with enough cultural capital to be able to enter into any social setting while there are others who will likely never leave those six square blocks in North-West Toronto. Though these two hypothetical individuals are connected through space, they are worlds apart. Similarly, journalists can inhabit a broad spectrum of political beliefs and ideologies that may align them or separate them from the residents they cover.

(Fraser, 2006; Heiferson, 2006; Körner & Treloar, 2003; Lawrence et al., 2008; Olstead, 2002). This argument, however, generalises and simplifies the complex network of news media that exists. In a similar vein, Young (1995) argues that Said repeats the false dichotomy of Orientalism by arguing that each writer is ultimately for or against Orientalism. This us-versus-them division of authors will not be repeated in my study. While I am critical towards the media, I make no claim that this group represents a monolithic enemy that must be defeated. I will not essentialise newspaper articles and individual journalists any more than I hope not to essentialise Jane-Finch. Each work and writer can possess both positive and negative aspects that I hope to interrogate.

Interestingly, in *Orientalism* (2003) Said focuses very little attention on newspapers or other popular cultural objects. Instead, he chooses primarily to analyse “high” culture such as literature and opera. This is a flaw of Orientalism as I see it. Gregory (1995) writes “the connections between spatiality and identity are continuous with the production of everyday life in *all* its particulars” (p. 476). As such, “the production—the inscription and contestation—of imaginative geographies cannot be confined to the realm of high culture” (ibid). This argument is closely associated with the idea of textualism, which is the reliance on texts rather than other (less-official) forms of information about the world. Said (2003) writes that “it seems a common human failing to prefer the schematic authority of a text to the disorientations of direct encounters with the human” (p. 93). *Orientalism*, however, relies entirely on books, government documents and other written accounts of the Orient.²⁹ If Said truly privileged human

²⁹It may not be entirely fair to criticise Said’s lack of human contact in *Orientalism* considering the book is primarily an historical investigation. Nevertheless, in the chapter entitled “Orientalism Now,” which is

contact, one must wonder why he did not speak to anyone in person or make use of other forms of knowledge. This is not to devalue the criticism of texts. My study will look at nothing other than textual information. I point out this element of Said's work because it seems to contradict the rest of his argument. He writes that human experience should be privileged above the text even though he chooses not to do so.

Finally, the most troubling aspect of Orientalism, to which all previous comments seem to allude, is the problem of representation. Said (2003) writes that the real issue "is whether indeed there can be a true representation of anything, or whether any and all representations, because they *are* representations, are embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representer" (p. 272). Said returns to this question at the end of *Orientalism*. This is evidently a major concern in the book. If the Orient does not exist outside of discourse and there is nothing with which one can refer to the East without perpetuating the myth, what can one do? Young (1995) notes that Said "refuses to be drawn in to this argument, on the grounds that...to provide an alternative to Orientalism would be to accept the existence of the very thing in dispute" (p. 127). It seems that all one can do in this situation is follow Said's example by referring to "the Orient" but without acknowledging its presence in reality beyond its discursive construction. Only by bracketing the term and noting its existence as an object of discourse and all that that implies can one examine the representation alone.

2.3.6 Summarizing Said

Orientalism provides a valuable tool for approaching myth and power-knowledge formations relating to geographical space. This is why I focus so heavily on Said's book. It is abundantly clear, however, that applying these concepts to space/place is not easy. I approach my study of Jane-Finch just as Said approaches the Orient. These spaces are human constructs. They are comprised of socially-produced knowledge that extends to geography. With this framework in mind, I will refer to my object of study as *Jane-Finch* with the understanding that the area in question, like the Orient, is a place that exists not in some kind of pure reality but in the political construction of reality that is a product of power and knowledge. I use *Orientalism*, along with the other theories I have discussed as valuable but by no means perfect tools in my analysis.

2.4 Negotiating Conceptual Frameworks

Problems arise when working within the conceptual frameworks of three distinct cultural theorists. To deal with these issues, I adopt the practice of the *bricoleur*. Derrida (1978) describes the *bricoleur* as someone who makes use of the best conceptual tools at one's disposal. These tools may not have been "especially conceived with an eye to the operation for which they are to be used," writes Derrida (1978), and so "one tries by trial and error to adapt them, not hesitating to change them whenever it appears necessary, or to try several of them at once" (p. 285).³⁰ I have chosen three theorists whose work is generally complementary, and at times very similar. At certain points, however, I must choose one and leave another behind. These occasions are most pronounced: a) when I

³⁰ In Spivak's translator's preface to *Of Grammatology* she points out "the reason for *bricolage* is that there can be nothing else" (Derrida, 1997, p. xix).

switch between a broad examination of articles over the span of 2007 and a narrow reading of specific articles; b) when I examine photographic images; and c) when I discuss the motivation behind representations in newspapers.

The greatest influence on this study has been the work of Foucault. I base my broad conceptual framework on his theory of power-knowledge and surveillance. I enter into a strange position, however, when applying these concepts to close readings of particular articles. This problem is similar to the disparity in physics in which the theory of general relativity is wonderful at explaining planets and distant galaxies and quantum physics nicely explains the relations of minute particles but the two fail to combine into one general theory of the universe (Hawking, 1998; Zizek, 2006). Foucault's system works well in the grand scheme of things but falls short when closely analysing a single newspaper article. Such a small-scale study does not allow one to observe power-knowledge, which only becomes apparent when stepping back and analysing social discourse(s) on a more general level. Though I base my discourse analysis on Foucault's work, I find Barthes' (1972) examples of close readings to be much more suitable to a micro-level analysis. Similarly, Said's (2003) application of discourse and power-knowledge theory to the Orient provides an accessible framework, whereby I can make the transition from broad theoretical theory to practical application much more easily by comparing my findings in particular journalistic practices to the precedents Said sets in his analysis of the West's representation of the Orient.

When analysing photographs, I also base my work on Barthes (1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1982). He writes that the text accompanying a photograph has "a *repressive* value" that forces the viewer to see and understand the image in a certain way (Barthes,

1978b, p. 40). Foucault (2003), conversely, would likely disagree with Barthes' ideas about power and repression. He devotes part of his 1976 lectures at the Collège de France "to a critical re-examination of the notion of 'repression'...trying to show how and why what is now the widespread notion of repression cannot provide an adequate description of the mechanisms and effects of power" (Foucault, 2003, p. 18). In short, Foucault (2003) argues that power is something that "circulates" and "functions only when it is part of a chain" (p. 29). As such, Foucault departs from Barthes' arguments that photographs and captions repress and enforce certain interpretations. In this conflict, I side with Barthes. However, I break somewhat with Barthes' notion of *who* represses or enforces these meanings.

This brings me to the third and final major conflict among the three theorists. Said and Barthes both argue a more dialectic version of power than Foucault. A common criticism is that Said (2003) positions the Occident as the signifying consciousness violently exercising power over the Orient (Lowe, 1991). Similarly, Barthes (1972) is said to theorize myth as a tool of the bourgeoisie (Thody, 1977). Though I believe these views are exaggerated versions of Barthes' and Said's work, to make things clear, I side with Foucault. He argues that power is omnipresent and works through negotiation, rather than "a phenomenon of mass and homogeneous domination" (Foucault, 2003, p. 29). Power-knowledge structures in society are far from egalitarian. But no *one* group controls another. I view power within this study as being constantly negotiated rather than solely imposed from outside. If meaning is repressed, as Barthes (1972, 1978b) suggests, this process works through a negotiation of meanings; the reader generally chooses to submit

to the violence of the image. This is a product of the circulation of power in society rather than the sovereignty of any one person or group.

In positioning my use of theorists in this way, as a *bricoleur*, I attempt to be transparent in how and why I use particular theories in particular ways, while enjoying the freedom to shift and bend these ideas to meet the specific demands of my project. There is no perfect theory to answer the question I pose in this work. *Bricolage* helps me use the sources that are available to harness the full value of these great thinkers without being restricted to one theorist's particular worldview.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Discourse Analysis and Postmodernity

Before defining discourse analysis and its epistemological roots, I must clarify a few underlying considerations in my use of the term. First, I make no claim to use the term discourse ‘correctly.’ Foucauldian discourse is an idea situated in postmodern thought, which denies the possibility of any Truth. Within this philosophical and epistemological set of beliefs is the idea that meaning is a social construct. Objects are never seen outside of discourse and, thus, “discourse should replace the material world as a valid object of analysis” (Macdonald, 2007, p. 1).³¹ Though I cannot—and likely should not—outline the entire scope of postmodern thought to which this paper’s theoretical framework is indebted, I will state the major assumptions under which my methodological approach operates:

1. Knowledge is relative to the discursive formation(s) of which the individual is a part.
2. Knowledge is, therefore, produced through language, which exists within culture.
3. Power and knowledge produce and are reproduced within this tension of varying discursive formations (which are predicated upon varying discourses).
4. Experts within dominant discursive formations work to legitimate what is true and untrue; and, therefore, what is sayable and unsayable.

With these premises in mind, I can now attempt to define—for the purposes of this paper—what discourse analysis is and how such a method can work to expose the power-knowledge that I have been discussing.

³¹Sawyer (2002) illustrates that this analysis includes the discourse on discourse.

3.2 Method

For the purposes of this work, I am interested in performing an analysis of how specific discourse(s) (i.e., that of dominant Canadian newspapers) (re)produce power and knowledge. First, however, I must define my method more clearly than the nebulous phrase *discourse analysis*. Here, I turn to *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2006 [1969]). On page 44, Foucault sets out a clear method for analysing an object of discourse and, although this process may have been altered by the author (and appropriated by myriad academics within myriad disciplines), it nevertheless provides a useful and applicable framework for contemporary researchers. Foucault (2006) suggests that to analyse an object of discourse, one must undertake the following:

Step 1: Establish how such an object of discourse emerged. In this step, I perform a brief historical examination of how a geographical space became the notorious “Jane-Finch” that Canadians know today. This includes an overview of the major social, political, and historical events that led to the neighbourhood’s current status. This allows me to then explore the representations of Jane-Finch in dominant Canadian newspapers, which begins in the 1960s as the population increases and journalists begin covering the area. Finally, I examine in greater detail how Jane-Finch in the period of January 2007 to December 2007 emerged in newspapers throughout this period.

Step 2: Describe who has authority to speak on the subject and to what degree. In this step, I break my analysis into an exploration of four distinct authorities and how they are empowered or prevented from speaking the “truth.” The first authority is the newspaper (and the journalist who works for that newspaper). I examine the idea of authorship and the way both the news organization and the individual journalist develop

reputations, beats, styles, and target audiences. Following this, I explore photographers and their visual representations of Jane-Finch. This group is able to speak visually for the community, creating vivid photographs that hide the subjective agent behind the lens. I then examine the authoritative knowledge sources quoted within articles, which generally come from institutions representing the police, the law, education, and politics. Finally, I explore the voices that are often disregarded as authorities. Jane-Finch residents tend to appear only as emotional sound bites. However, individuals are sometimes able to express insightful opinions and relate poignant lived experiences when journalists extend them the opportunity.

Step 3: Analyse the “grids of specification,” which place the object within other relative objects. In this step, I analyse the way Jane-Finch is categorized, contrasted to, and grouped together with other spaces. I examine the act of mapping, which is a persistent tool in the labelling of Jane-Finch as a criminal space. I conclude by performing a close reading of an article, demonstrating how Jane-Finch is divided by people, institutions, geographies, etc., and the way in which other discourse(s) (i.e.: judicial, economic, and “family values”) penetrate the discourse of which this object is a part. I conclude by elaborating how Jane-Finch is situated as “Canada’s toughest neighbourhood” through Barthesian myth and a process akin to Said’s (2003) *Orientalism*.

3.3 Sources and Sampling

The majority of articles in my analysis are taken from a Factiva database search conducted in mid-2008. I searched major Canadian newspapers for the term “Jane-Finch”

between the period of January 1, 2007 and December 31, 2007. Having grown up reading Canadian newspapers regularly, both local and national, I am aware that “Jane-Finch” has become the standard term to designate the area with which I am concerned. Although “Jane-Finch” does not designate an official geographical area in a juridico-political sense, it remains common practice to use the term Jane-Finch in informal and official discourses, particularly within newspapers.³² I eliminated articles that were not from popular Canadian newspapers such as stories from *Canada NewsWire*, a public relations company, and *The Canadian Press*, which is a service for news agencies and is not something the general public can view. I also removed editorials and opinion pieces because I am interested in negotiating “truths” found in discourses that purport to be objective and unbiased. Comments and editorials are already presumed to have bias due to their personal and argumentative nature. I include, however, articles written by columnists if they are presented as news. This occurs with writers such as Rosie DiManno of the *Toronto Star* or Christie Blatchford of *The Globe and Mail*, who frequently appear on the first pages of their respective newspapers in the “news” section. Such stories include DiManno’s (2007a) “A cheeky look at the rump of Toronto” and Blatchford’s (2007) “A grieving mother’s plea: ‘Turn yourself in.’” Despite the self-proclaimed “cheeky” tone of the stories, their placement within the news section situates them in an ambiguous position somewhere between an opinionated columnist and an objective reporter. In these cases, I include the articles. In contrast, I removed “A ‘threshold-crossing’ crime,” by Blatchford (2007), because it appears on page A21 under

³² Jane-Finch is generally considered to be congruous with Toronto’s Ward 8, which is a 17-square kilometre area that borders Highway 400 and Jane Street to the west, Dufferin Street to the east, Steeles Avenue West to the north and Grandravine Drive and Sheppard Avenue West to the south.

the heading “comment column,” clearly demarcating the subjective nature of the piece. In total, I was left with 156 stories covering the span of January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2007.

For additional information, I searched the Toronto Reference Library and retrieved stories from the *Toronto Sun*, *The London Free Press*, *The Vancouver Sun* and various other sources. I note these additions with an asterisk before the citation in Appendix A. These articles did not appear in the Factiva search because they did not use the term “Jane-Finch” or they are not considered major Canadian newspapers under the specifications of Factiva. I use these stories as supplements to illustrate differences in reporting and photography practices during coverage of Jordan Manners’ death. These articles are used *only* for comparison purposes and are not included in my general assessment of reporting in popular Canadian newspapers.

The historical searches for background information on Jane-Finch were conducted in the *Toronto Star*’s online archives, which date back to 1945 (when the *Toronto Star* was known as the *Toronto Daily Star*). Because it is the only major daily newspaper in Toronto that still exists, most of my historical newspaper coverage is derived from the *Toronto Star* archives. I was also able to find stories from *The Globe and Mail* in the mid-1970s and onward using a historical search on Factiva, which I incorporate into my historical analysis. In addition to these resources, I retrieved information from the City of Toronto Archives, which includes data on historical maps, street names and publicity materials of films and events in Jane-Finch. I should note that I also worked in collaboration with Paul Nguyen of *jane-finch.com* to locate and collect historical and

contemporary newspaper articles of the neighbourhood. Much of that information is now available on his website.

3.4 Final Considerations

Having presented my methodology, I wish to briefly outline three issues that arise. First, this discourse analysis is a *modified* version of Foucault's model as set out in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2006). I make no claims to follow exactly what Foucault had in mind. I merely take his outline as a starting point for my own research. Furthermore, I incorporate theories of myth and Orientalism into this analysis, which Foucault did not necessarily anticipate. This necessitates a more hybrid approach. I recognize that this is a specific form of discourse analysis that does not necessarily translate into a universal model. Like Foucault, my interest is in the particular. I use a method that I find best suited to my purposes but which may not be easily transferred to other research projects.

Second, a number of recent studies claiming to apply a "discourse analysis" to the news media concern me (Fraser, 2006; Heiferson, 2006; Körner & Treloar, 2003; Lawrence et al., 2008; Olstead, 2002). These studies all claim, in one way or another, that newspaper representations are "inaccurate." This presupposes that a correct form of the object is eluded and that the authors know it in this correct, accurate, and pure form.³³ If this were the case, all such problems of representation could be solved. The authors

³³ Interestingly, Said (2003) writes that his two methodological fears are "distortion and inaccuracy, or rather the kind of inaccuracy produced by too dogmatic a generality and too positivistic a localized focus" (p. 8). Thus, it is not the representation of the Orient he fears may be inaccurate but his objects of analysis by which he evokes the process of Orientalism. Here too, I attempt to analyse my subject matter neither too generally nor too locally. Ultimate, I explore a unique locality but hope to highlight a process that is ongoing throughout popular news media in Canada, albeit with distinct idiosyncrasies with the coverage of each community.

would simply have to explain to journalists what the inaccuracy was and the media could transform their representations of the object. Evidently, this is not the case. To assume an object exists that the media are simply misunderstanding or failing to represent “accurately” is to veer perilously close to Enlightenment thinking. “Accuracy” is a dangerous word in post-modernity. I do not use this term in my study beyond this section. While I argue that certain words and images create problematic connotations and ideas of truth, to state that these representations are “inaccurate” is to presuppose an accurate object, which ostensibly exists outside discourse. I make no such presupposition.

Finally, I acknowledge that the politics of this project are incomplete. The purpose of this work is to bridge the violent divide between the sentiments of Jane-Finch residents and those of mainstream journalists and editors. I want, like many people, to make Jane-Finch a better place. The media representation of this space, however, is only one factor contributing to the challenges the neighbourhood faces. Mitchell (1997) expresses concerns about discourse analysis, writing “theories that discuss space only in terms of linguistic or cultural metaphors will inevitably provide only empty theoretical ‘frameworks’” (p. 539). This criticism is apt, particularly for any study with political implications. I contend that power-knowledge formations relating to Jane-Finch represent the foundation for many other decisions and actions that affect this community. For this reason, I am exploring the most popular and lasting source of information: Canada’s mainstream newspapers. As I discuss in Chapter Five, more research—and especially more action—must take place before any kind of liberatory political movement can occur. I see this study as a necessary—but definitely not the only—contribution to this political process.

Chapter 4: Surveillance, Myth and Orientalism in Jane-Finch

4.0 Introduction

The Canadian newspaper discourses on Jane-Finch take many forms. Analysing the power and knowledge relationships embedded within these depictions is anything but simple. In this Chapter, I dissect popular newspaper articles beginning with a broad examination of collective discourses and concluding with a close reading of a single news story to explore the intricacies at work in the words and images that represent Jane-Finch. Following Foucault's (2006) outline in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, I divide this Chapter into three parts: the first section details the emergence of Jane-Finch as an object of discourse; the second section analyses who become authorities of this discourse; finally, the third section explores how Jane-Finch is placed within grids of specification that separate and group together this space with other objects and discourses.

4.1 Part One: Jane-Finch Emerging

The first step Foucault (2006) suggests when analysing objects of discourse is examining the "surfaces of their emergence" (p. 45). When did they become objects? How did they become objects? What properties made them objects? Again, I distinguish between the emergence of a geographical space and the emergence of an object of discourse within print news. This study is concerned with the former only in so far as it affects the latter.

Before I analyse how Jane-Finch became an object of discourse in popular Canadian newspapers, I must clarify what I mean by "Jane-Finch" as an object of discourse. Heraclitus (1991) argues that all things are in flux. Taking up this idea,

Nietzsche (1977), and then Deleuze and Guattari (2007) argue that pure states of being do not exist. All things are in states of *becoming*. People, places, and things are forever changing. They are forever becoming something new. Jane-Finch is not a fixed entity that can be examined outside a specific time and place. To look at Jane-Finch in 1997 is not the same as observing Jane-Finch in 2007. One may refer to the place as “Jane-Finch” but it is not the same object. This makes it difficult to analyse the discourse on Jane-Finch if newspapers are actually referring to a new entity every time the term arises. To simplify matters, I focus on the Jane-Finch of 2007. This is not to say that Jane-Finch in January is the same as Jane-Finch in December. But the difference, though present, is not nearly as pronounced as if the study were to explore Jane-Finch throughout the decades.

For the purposes of this investigation, I break the emergences of Jane-Finch into three distinct parts. The first is Jane-Finch at its conception; the space as it becomes a geographical place. The second is Jane-Finch as it enters newspaper discourse; roughly the first time “Jane-Finch” is printed in a popular Canadian newspaper. The third is Jane-Finch as depicted by mainstream Canadian newspapers in 2007. The majority of my research will focus on this third emergence. One cannot, however, comprehend the 2007 Jane-Finch without examining its origins.

4.1.1 The Birth of Jane-Finch

The land on which Jane-Finch is located existed long before Jane Street and Finch Avenue West existed. That is, the object as a geographic space far predates the civilizations that settled in the area and identified it as Jane-Finch. In this case, only the

name comes into being at a conceivable point in time within Canadian culture. The emergence of the geographical space is beyond the scope of this study.

The earliest people who are known to have inhabited the area came around 10,500-11,000 years ago (City of Toronto, 2006). Small groups hunted caribou, mammoths and mastodons at this time. Between 6000 BCE and 600 CE, the Humber River, to which the Black Creek in Jane-Finch connects, was a popular settling point for indigenous people (City of Toronto, 2006). When nomadic groups became dependent upon farming, societies of horticultural Iroquoian peoples developed in the region, which led researchers in 1948 to unearth Iroquoian longhouses dating from 1400 to 1550 near Jane-Finch (From Longhouse to Highrise, 1986; City of Toronto, 2006; University of Toronto, n.d.). As indicated in the map below (Figure 4.1), Jane-Finch and the surrounding area is believed to have been Iroquoian territory until at least 1600.³⁴

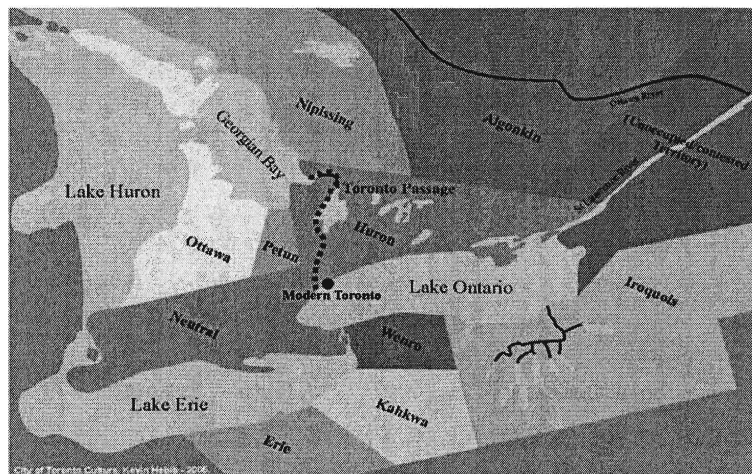


Figure 4.1. Native Territories, 1600 (City of Toronto, 2006).

Maps of the area began to appear once European exploration unfolded in the 17th century. With these new representations, familiar regional names surface. The term “Lac

³⁴ Iroquoians refers to a major linguistic group that includes Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals, Eries, Kahkwas, Wenros, and Iroquois (City of Toronto, 2006).

Toronto [*sic*]” emerges for one of the first times on record in a map made in 1688 (City of Toronto, 2006). In this case, the term refers to what is now Lake Simcoe. Shortly afterward, Toronto began to denote roughly the area it does today. In 1763, the British took control of the land, renaming it York and, in the late 18th century, “Jane-Finch” existed only as wilderness north of the township.

By the end of the 19th century, the closest thing to modern-day Jane-Finch was the intersection of Concession Road 5 and the Emery-Elia side road, which ran along a few farm houses (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986). The term Finch Avenue West was first used in 1829, describing a street that ran west from Yonge Street to Steeles Avenue West (Wise and Gould, 2000). The street was named after John Finch, a proprietor of an inn at the intersection of Yonge Street and Finch Avenue.³⁵ Finch purchased the property in 1847 and developed it into a popular spot with circuses and other events held regularly on the property. Jane Street first appeared on record in Goad’s Fire Insurance plan in 1884 (City of Toronto internal database). The street was named after the wife of Toronto developer John Canavan in 1870. Thus, in 1870 one could argue that Jane-Finch became “Jane-Finch” in the way one understands it today.

The intersection remained little more than farmlands until the end of the Second World War. In the 1950s, the population of North York, in which Jane-Finch is located, grew by almost 20,000 people per year (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986). Many high-density townhouses and apartments were constructed at this time to make way for the new immigrants settling in the area. As Canadian cities took in many newcomers during

³⁵ An interesting note from Wise and Gould (2000): apparently after a dispute, the two original owners of the Inn, known as the Bird-in-the-Hand, legally, and physically, split the house in two. When Finch bought the property in 1847, he built a new two-story hotel over it.

this period, Jane-Finch was an attractive neighbourhood because of its low rent and its location relatively close to the downtown core. In the early 1960s, plans for a new university northeast of Jane-Finch brought major commercial and residential development. In a letter preceding a 1963 North York Planning Board report, a team of city planners argue that Jane-Finch is partaking in “rapid urbanization” and that “the introduction of a large university will complicate problems” involving “traffic movement, protection of amenity, resident convenience and economic matters.” By 1965, York University was built and classes began (*From Longhouse to Highrise*, 1986). The city expanded roadways to meet the needs of the increasing population and within a decade the neighbourhood’s population jumped from 1,301 to 33,030 by 1971.



Figure 4.2. Jane-Finch (upper-left intersection) (City of Toronto Archives, 1947).

In the 1970s, the increase of low-income high-rise apartments and the people living in them created challenges for social services such as the Toronto Transit Commission. At this point, Jane-Finch developed a reputation for ethnic conflict, crime and violence that continues to haunt it today. As the following sections explore, Jane-Finch became “a catch-all phrase that suggests poverty, gangs and racial division” (Friesen, 2006a, p. A15). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Jane-Finch became a household name in the Greater Toronto Area. Even the popular *Urban Dictionary* defines it as a “low class area in Toronto, Canada filled with housing projects & lotz of african-americans & asians. Gun violence has struck the city and is very common. This is arguably the worst neighborhood in Canada with a lot of gangster rapperz” (*Urban Dictionary*, 2008).

In the twenty-first century, the population of Jane-Finch is much younger than the rest of Toronto with almost 60% of residents under the age of 34 (City of Toronto, 2001). The top self-identified ethnicities are Italian, East Indian, Jamaican, Chinese, Vietnamese and Canadian. Approximately 80% of residents are first generation Canadians and 60% live in high-rise apartments. While innumerable factors have led to the notoriety of Jane-Finch, the following section focuses on Canadian newspapers’ roles in representing the neighbourhood throughout this period.



Figure 4.3. Modern Jane-Finch (ERA Architects Inc., 2007).

4.1.2 The Emergence of Jane-Finch in Dominant Newspapers

The first archived use of the term “Jane-Finch” in a major daily newspaper appears on April 30, 1965. At this time, the newspaper it appears in is *The Toronto Daily Star* (later the *Toronto Star*) and costs 10¢ on weekdays. The story in which it appears is about an expectant mother of eight who is squatting in a house in Scarborough (Dexter, 1965). The house is owned by Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC) and is scheduled for demolition to make way for new high-rises. But the mother refuses to leave. According to the story, she requested a home in Thistletown, where her “emotionally disturbed” daughter was accepted as an outpatient at the local hospital but her request was denied by OHC (Dexter, 1965, p. A1):

Instead, Mrs. Gray says, she was offered a four-bedroom town house on Driftwood Ave. in the *Jane-Finch* area at a rent of \$120 a month. It

is four miles from Thistlethorn. She would have moved in on Saturday
but turned it down (Dexter, 1965, p. A1, italics added).

The debut of “Jane-Finch” in popular print news is little more than a footnote; a brief indication that Jane-Finch is an area with low-income apartments. Though small, this depiction situates the neighbourhood within a web of connotations that foreshadows the stereotypes and tropes that will reappear in later years. The story focuses on the perceived burden that single-parent, low-income families create for the city. The family members are situated as outsiders or foreigners in their own city as evidenced in the first sentence when the term “uninvited” describes Gray and her family (Dexter, 1965, p. A1). Although the text does not reveal the woman’s ethnicity, the photograph indicates that at least one child, David, 6, is a visible minority. Already, a pattern emerges; a “grid of specification” is established (Foucault, 2006, p. 46). Jane-Finch becomes enmeshed in a subtext of essentialised characteristics much like Said (2003) describes the way “‘Arabs’ are presented in the imagery of static, almost ideal types, and neither as creatures with a potential in the process of being realized nor as history being made” (p. 321). In this case, the major characteristics include improper sexual practices (promiscuity); inadequate family life (interracial couples and/or single parent families); foreign and Other-ed identities (non-white); and the intrinsic threat of crime and violence. All but the last characteristic is present in the Dexter (1965) article.



Figure 4.4. One of the first “Jane-Finch” uses on record (*The Toronto Daily Star*, 1965).

The news coverage of Jane-Finch marks an historical disconnect between journalists' view of immigration, parenthood and community housing and governmental policy in the 1960s and 1970s. While the government supports the funding and development of affordable housing and multiculturalism, newspapers present stories critical of low-income communities of predominantly new immigrants. Anderson (1996) notes this divergence occurs during a change in Canada's thinking on race and ethnicity in which language of race shifts from “the presumed biological differences between the world's populations...to the ‘ethnic’ or cultural distinctions that were also assumed to separate them” (p. 228). He adds “that which was once the fearful embodiment of an alien or inferior ‘stock’ had by 1969 become—in the words of a government report—‘an inestimable enrichment that Canadians cannot afford to lose’” (Anderson, 1996, p. 228).

This argument explains why low-income housing became a priority in cities like Toronto, where an influx of immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East settled (Angelini and Broderick, 2003).³⁶ But no such discursive shift is evident in popular Canadian journalism, at least not in the coverage of Jane-Finch where immigrants and low-income families—particularly single parent families—are marked and reported as significant aberrations from the Canadian norm.

To illustrate this incongruence, let us examine an advertisement from The *Toronto Star* in 1976 (Figure 4.5). This is an advertisement for Palisades, an apartment complex financed by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). It promises “to put life back into your living,” to provide “darn good fun” and to put “the city at your feet [and] the great outdoors just behind you” (*Toronto Star*, 1976, p. A7). The advertisement features photographs of a group of bicyclists, someone playing tennis, a band playing music, a group participating in a wagon ride (relating to Black Creek Pioneer Village nearby), and a couple in a swimming pool. It promises affordable family apartments at the intersection of Jane Street and Finch Avenue West, pledging quiet and private living, fun, and all the amenities one can desire. These qualities, no doubt, sound appealing. In the end, however, it is only an advertisement.

³⁶ The majority of Canadian immigrants before the 1960s were from the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Poland while, closer to the end of the twentieth century, the top countries were China (including Hong Kong), India, Philippines and Sri Lanka (Angelini & Broderick, 2003). Canada’s attractiveness to non-European immigrants likely stemmed from its successful perpetuation of the myth of tolerance (Szuchewycz, 2000). As many academics have found, however, racial discrimination has been—and continues to be—present in Canada within the legal system (Backhouse, 1999; Mosher, 1998), immigration (Jakubowski, 1997; Whitaker, 1987), employment practices (Loney, 1998), education (Alladin, 1996) and contemporary Canadian journalism (Jiwani, 2006; Szuchewycz, 2000). As the title of Jiwani’s book suggests, much racism in Canada is based on *Discourses of Denial* (2006).

What makes Palisades Toronto's most interesting apartment project in years?

If you have a sinking feeling something is missing in your life, then read on. Because Palisades is something special and could be the magic tonic you need to put life back into your living.

Such as its impressive split-level architecture

Having to work in dull surroundings is one thing. But having to live in them is quite another.

Not at Palisades you won't.

In the larger apartments, sunken living-rooms are standard.

Dining-rooms are step-up.

So no matter what style of furniture you have, it will look even better when arranged on two distinctive levels.

This striking design feature is not often found in apartments.

If at all. Except here at Palisades.

We predict your spirits will soar soon as you step inside your door.

For your eyes only

The one-bedroom suites that are located where the two wings of the building join have an unusual five-sided balcony.

You can get a bit of sun and enjoy the soft sights in private.

This angular join has also made possible other unusual features.

Pie-shape floor plans

As a result, some suites have interesting pie-shape living/dining areas. Just imagine what you can do with a decorating opportunity like this. Just thinking about it excites the imagination.

The suites in Palisades

For a start, all have large balconies. All have a large living-room window that sweeps from end to end, letting in lots of bright, cheerful sunshine.

All have big storage rooms en suite, so you won't have to trudge a mile to get something.



Each suite is equipped with a brand-new Westinghouse frost-free fridge and continuous clean stove.

The parquet-wood flooring is so beautiful you may not want to hide it under a carpet.

Less noise, more privacy

Palisades was designed in the shape of a Y.

Because of this unique design, hall traffic is kept to a minimum. Your quiet and privacy is assured.

So is your nightlife

Man and woman do not live by work alone.

When you're not, the entertainment around here is as you like it. Good and slow to go-go. Intimate dinners to family fare. Quick take-out spots if you feel like staying at home and watching the telly. Instead.

At home fun

Palisades has a one-million dollar recreation centre* for having darn good fun, anytime.

It has a year-round indoor pool for healthful swimming. And change rooms, exercise rooms, hobby rooms, party rooms, common rooms. Even saunas to melt your aches and cares away after a hard day.

It has lots of rooms to do lots of things to keep you healthy, happy and occupied.

If you have tiny tots, the centre has a fully-equipped day-care facility**.

And the best of professional supervision.

*Scheduled to open Fall 1976.

**At additional cost.

vision, so you can leave them and not worry.

Outside the recreation centre are two regulation-size tennis courts* where you can get in a good game.

The Way it was

The one place where time stands still for every man, woman and child is only 10 minutes away—Black Creek Pioneer Village.

A piece of the past you can hold on to. Slip inside an early-day schoolhouse where you'd wear the children just dashed outside to play.

Explore quaint houses and inns where the aroma of bread and cakes being pulled from brick ovens make your tummy grumble for a taste.

It has to be one of the nicest ways to spend a day.

What you need

Your neighbourhood is stocked with an abundance

of merchandise.

More than you'll ever need. Or probably want. But it's all right here if you do.

Across the street from Palisades is the Jane-Finch Mall. Kitty-corner is the Norfinch Shopping Centre. Another major shopping centre is going up further west along Finch Avenue.

All that and this, too

Palisades is located in a well-established area.

Nearby, you have public and separate schools, York University, churches, TTC buses, medical-dental centre, a library and a major hospital.

Palisades is very handy to everything.

Bold adventure awaits you

Palisades is very handy to everything that leads north.

So you get the jump on traffic.

And can stay longer.

Living at Palisades puts the city at your feet; the great outdoors just behind you.

And up the road apiece.

How much will it cost me?

Not as much as you might think considering what Palisades has to offer you.

There are 1, 2, and 2 bedroom with den suites ranging from \$289.



Because this project was financed by CMHC, their wage formula applies. We have all the details and will show you how you can qualify.

But Hurry, Act Now

Palisades is going to be fully-occupied quickly. So don't get off coming out to look around for yourself.

We promise that it is everything we have said it is. And more. Don't be sorry you didn't act sooner. See Palisades, today.



Phone 636-7402 If you would like more information or want to make an appointment to save time. Rental office hours are from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., Mon.-Fri.; 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Sat.-Sun.



A Greenwin/Glen-Ash joint venture

Figure 4.5. Advertisement for Palisades in Jane-Finch (Toronto Star, 1976).

In less than two years, Palisades is deemed a breeding ground for criminal teens in the news section of the very same newspaper (Carey, 1978). By the early 1990s, North York New Democrat MPP Anthony Perruzza asks the Housing Minister to withdraw funding for the apartment complex (Brent, 1992). Palisades soon appears in newspaper photographs in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to symbolize failure in urban planning and the antithesis of Canadian multicultural policy (e.g., Figure 1.2 and

4.13). The apartment complex is presented as negative and depressing, even within uplifting stories. In Friesen's 2006 series, for example, he mentions Palisades hosting valuable educational programs for youth. It is clear, however, that these programs have been created to curb the criminal and violent elements within Palisades and its neighbouring buildings. Similar articles appear throughout 2007 (Doolittle, 2007; Friesen, 2007; Kalinowski, 2007; Keung, 2007; Lopez-Pacheco, 2007; Powell, 2007c).

By 1966, Jane-Finch began to make headlines for vandalism and graffiti. On June 28, 1966, *The Toronto Daily Star* wrote "Gosford public school in the Jane-Finch area was damaged for the second time in six months" ("Vandalism cost \$100,000," 1966, p. 23). The story notes that "In December, the school had to be closed for one day when all 16 classrooms were damaged...a piano was overturned and glue poured on the keys" (ibid). Beneath this news brief is a photograph of a spray-painted road sign at Keele Street and Finch Avenue West (one block away from the Jane-Finch intersection). The caption reads:

Somebody in North York must figure the only way to beat the horses is
with a whip...He has altered a sign on Keele St., south of Finch Ave.,
advertising the races at Woodbine race track to read thisaway...
("Quote of the day," 1966, p. 23).³⁷

³⁷ Note how the spray-painter is assumed to be male and how uncivilized violence is read into this act by the writer, who, figuratively or literally, believes the painter thinks "the only way to beat the horses is with a whip" ("Quote of the day," 1966, p. 23).

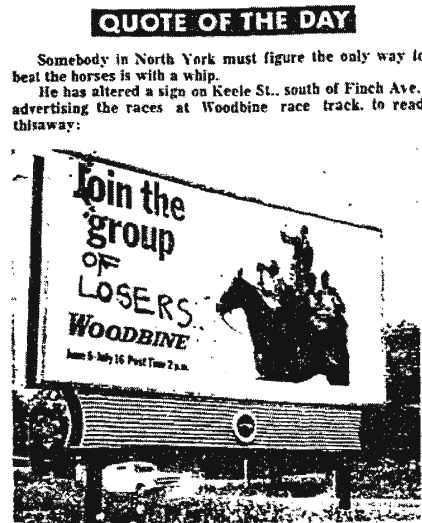


Figure 4.6. Graffiti reported in Jane-Finch (*Toronto Daily Star*, 1966).

Many of the same modes of representing events in Jane-Finch in 2007 appear in this caption. A noticeable difference is that Jane-Finch is presented as more of a joke or a nuisance than a threat. The graffiti that is created presumably by Jane-Finch residents is discussed in a humorous tone under the headline “quote of the day.” At this point, residents do not present a threat to mainstream society, yet.

Stories of Jane-Finch continued into the 1970s with one report on a busy daycare helping working, single-parent families in Jane-Finch (“Day care,” 1971, p. 1). The next stories involve volunteers recruiting Big Brothers at the Jane-Finch mall (“Big Brothers,” 1971, p. 33) and firemen rescuing residents on Driftwood Court (“Firemen evacuate,” 1971, p. 21). In 1977, *The Globe and Mail* describes Jane-Finch as “a high ethnic and low income district with many single parents” (“Proposed 6%,” p. 11). Until this time, stories are not positive per se but vandalism is the worst crime mentioned. Stories connote ostensibly negative issues in the area: single-parent families in need of childcare, children in need of “big brothers,” an apartment fire. But nothing exceptional enters news coverage. By 1978, two years after the idyllic advertisement for Palisades, the headlines

change. On a single page of what is now the *Toronto Star* in July of 1978, the headlines read: “Jane-Finch area breeds vandalism, alderman says” (“Jane-Finch area,” 1978, p. A4), “Teens wreak havoc nightly tenants say” (Carey, 1978, p. A4), and “2 policemen injured chasing youths in stolen sports car” (“2 policemen injured,” 1978, p. A4). In November, “Metro Faces human crisis in suburbs” (Jones, 1978, p. A1) was published, followed by the headline “Principals urge action to curb school violence” (Vienneau, 1979, p. A1).³⁸ In the summer of 1979, headlines held nothing back: “Suburbia gone sour: The Jane-Finch tragedy” (Heller & Tesher, 1979, p. A1) and “North York plaza like a ravaged section of New York” (Moon, 1979, p. 4).

In these stories, one sees perhaps most clearly a process congruent with Said’s (2003) manifest Orientalism. There is little figurative language or innuendo. Instead, the newspaper articles are overtly critical of Jane-Finch and all it represents. The subheadings in one article outline the causes: “bored youth,” “A lot of drugs,” and “something angry” are to blame (Carey, 1978, p. A4). This frankness changes in later years. The same sentiments inform twenty-first century articles but the depictions rely more on allusion and myth than straightforward statements. This positions 2007 articles within the realm of “latent Orientalism” (Said, 2003, p. 219). Contemporary articles on Jane-Finch rely on the work of the 1970s to situate new findings within old frameworks. As Said (2003) writes, for “anyone wishing to make a statement of any consequence about the Orient...latent Orientalism supplied him [*sic*] with an enunciative capacity” (p. 219).

³⁸ Although this article is ostensibly about violence in schools throughout Ontario, the first school mentioned is Downsview Secondary School in Jane-Finch.

In “Suburbia gone sour: The Jane-Finch tragedy,” two reporters spend two weeks in Jane-Finch “trying to find out what went wrong” (Heller & Teshler, 1979, p. A1). I would argue the real “problem” begins when the *Toronto Star*, a newspaper with a Sunday paid circulation of 307,172 at the time, becomes so certain Jane-Finch is an inherently “sour” neighbourhood that it can send two white, middle-class women to find out why that is.³⁹ The article begins with a knife fight between a group of white and black youth. “It’s like a scene from *West Side Story*,” write Heller and Teshler (1979, p. A1). According to the article, such brawls are a typical form of “entertainment” for young people in Jane-Finch. “This isn’t Spanish Harlem,” Heller and Teshler (1979) clarify, “this is Jane-Finch...[where kids] chat, smoke dope, steal candy and pop” (p. A1). The article continues:

People look small and helpless here. Many are.

Every level of government from federal to local was involved in creating this monumental planning disaster, which now seethes with racial violence, widespread vandalism, poverty, isolation, despair
(Heller & Teshler, 1979, p. A1).

In this story, two concepts emerge most prominently that repeat in the decades following. First, the allusion to *West Side Story* illustrates Said’s (2003) observation that Orientalists would see things in the Orient that they had previously heard or read about. In this way, the Orient became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Here, ostensibly never having seen Jane-Finch, Heller and Teshler see the neighbourhood as a real-world analogue to a

³⁹ This story had arguably little positive effect for Jane-Finch residents but Heller and Teshler both continued to prosper from this work. Heller chose to leave full-time journalism in 1984 to focus on her poetry and has since received funding from the Ontario Arts Council (Writers’ Federation of Nova Scotia). Teshler was given an advice column at *The Toronto Star* in 2002 and is now a syndicated columnist (Kriger, 2005).

popular musical.⁴⁰ This allusion says more about where the reporters come from than about Jane-Finch. These statements referring to Harlem also seem to posit racial tension as an American phenomenon, perpetuating the myth of Canadian acceptance of all races, ethnicities and cultures. As Szuchewycz (2000) suggests “a broad-based popular ignorance of Canada’s history of discrimination and civil rights abuses against visible and cultural minorities remains prevalent” (p. 498). This may stem from the fact that, as *The Globe and Mail* reported in 1995, Canadian students are “ignorant of Canada’s racist history” (Grange, 1995, p. A3). As the Canadian Civil Liberties Association’s 1995 study on which Grange (1995) bases his story demonstrates, few high school seniors are aware of such events as Canada denying entry to immigrants, including Jews during the Second World War, the legalized slavery of blacks and Aborigines, the internment of Japanese Canadians or the refusal of blacks at certain hotels, restaurants, theatres and public facilities in the past.

Second, the writers present a much more overt criticism of Jane-Finch in their description than contemporary journalists would dare. This further illustrates Said’s (2003) concept of “manifest Orientalism” versus “latent Orientalism” (p. 222). Heller and Teshner’s statements are interesting because they provide a glimpse of the underlying ideologies on which the next generation of journalists base their craft. Latent Orientalism, as Said (2003) writes, was “transmitted from one generation to another... [It] staked its existence, not upon its openness, its receptivity to the Orient, but rather on its internal, repetitious consistency about its constitutive will-to-power” (p. 222).

⁴⁰ It is interesting to note Barthes’ (1972) writing, which contrasts “bourgeois theatre” to more popular and accessible forms of entertainment. This seems to place Heller and Teshner into the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

By the 1980s, Jane-Finch residents began consciously fighting stereotypes of the neighbourhood. Jennifer Hodge and Roger MacTair made a documentary entitled “Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community” in the early 1980s that highlights the “strength, resilience and vitality of people who are often under pressure” (film poster from the City of Toronto Archives, n.d.).⁴¹ With the release of the film, financed by the National Film Board of Canada, newspapers began to acknowledge the separation between journalists’ and residents’ views of the community (“Introducing the 322 films,” 1989; “Music, drama, movies on Martinsday agenda,” 1990; Richmond, 1984; “The Diary,” 1984). This brief acknowledgement, however, did little to end the kind of reporting that had been demonstrated to this point.

In 1998, Conrad Black’s *National Post* hit Canadian newsstands. Although its predecessor, the *Financial Post*, mentioned Jane-Finch in articles such as “Inside Canada’s Sex Business” (Cameron, 1992, p. 16), “Unjust Desserts” (Alaton, 1995, p. 42), and “Let them use ATMs” (Blackwell, 1996, p. 10), it was not until 2002 that “Jane-Finch” appeared in the country’s contending national newspaper. In “Concerto in the sky,” Jane-Finch emerges during coverage of an “elite” party “high atop one of Toronto’s Bay Street landmarks” (Hickey, 2002, p. TO6). The story is about a charity that “introduces disadvantaged inner-city youth to the character-building ways of the wilderness outdoorsman” (p. TO6). Hickey (2002) mentions the neighbourhood when, at the black-tie event, one of the charity’s founders says, “I measure success by the number of kids from Regent Park and Jane-Finch who showed up” (p. TO6). Considering the ideological positioning of the *National Post* as an unapologetically right-wing newspaper,

⁴¹ MacTair revisited the project in 1997 in the film *Jane Finch Again!*

it is not surprising the majority of 2007 stories are of a similar nature. As seasoned journalist Hugh Winsor comments in a 2006 *Ryerson Review of Journalism* interview, “When I want to know what is happening in the Canadian right, I just look at the *National Post*” (Woo, 2006, p. 73). The *National Post* and the other major Canadian newspapers generally continued to report on Jane-Finch in the 1990s and 2000s in the same modes they established in the 1970s. Perhaps the only noticeable change is the substitution of more politically-correct words for terms that are now frowned upon (generally those specifying sex and race).⁴²

In the twenty-first century, newspapers seemed to have a renewed interest in what journalists call embedded reporting—and what anthropologists and sociologists might call participant observation. In 2005, Brett Clarkson wrote seven features about Jane-Finch for the *Toronto Sun* after a spate of shootings in Toronto had many journalists referring to “the Summer of the Gun” that year (Clarkson, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d, 2005e, 2005f, Clarkson & Godfrey, 2005). One year later, *The Globe and Mail*’s Joe Friesen asked a committee of residents to allow him to report out of an office in Palisades (Richardson, 2007). He played basketball with youth, went to local meetings and became intimate with the community, writing stories from April to August of 2006. In 2007, Friesen returned after the death of Jordan Manners.⁴³

From 1965 to 2006, mainstream journalists and residents formed a relationship that remains far from amicable. In the course of his stay, Friesen was referred to as “the

⁴² One is not likely to see terms like “policeman” or “fireman” in modern reporting. Nor is one likely to see descriptions like “The Trinidadian blacks, for example, don’t like the Jamaican blacks, American blacks don’t get on with Canadian blacks. And then you have the Asian Indians, the Pakistanis” (Moon, 1979, p. 4).

⁴³ In Section 4.3, I perform a close reading of his text to explore how surveillance, myth and Orientalism can be observed in depictions of Jane-Finch.

cop” by certain young residents (Richardson, 2007, p. 69). This comparison of journalists to police officers is telling of how many community members view journalists. Though newspapers are not necessarily supportive of the police, they share many characteristics with them. Both enter the neighbourhood after crimes occur, ask questions, and leave to write official reports. Police decide the crime, the threat level, and the law enforcement measures. Journalists report these decisions and depict the neighbourhood in what is usually considered the “official” record. These privileges form an important power-knowledge relationship that continues in 2007.

4.1.3 Reporting on Jane-Finch, 2007

Jane-Finch entered the 2007 popular Canadian newspaper discourse in the entertainment section of the *Toronto Star* (Infantry, 2007). It ended in the same newspaper under the headline “Families forever broken” (Black, 2007). Between these publications, adjectives describing the area included “poor” (Kalinowski, 2007a, p. D4), “blighted” (Bielski, 2007a, p. A13), “troubled” (Leong & Coutts, 2007a, p. A3), and “very tough” (DiManno, 2007b, p. A1). But depictions of individual residents included words like “empowered” (Monsebraaten & Vincent, 2007, p. B01), “brave” (Friesen, 2007, p. A16), and “proud” (Gordon, 2007, p. B1). In this section, I outline the scope of reporting on Jane-Finch in 2007 and how such positive and negative terms were negotiated.

Ashanti Infantry (2007) introduced Jane-Finch to Canadian readers on January 11, 2007 in an article entitled “Teaching them all that jazz.” Infantry (2007) describes popular jazz pianist Barry Harris as he takes on 250 Torontonians protégés as part of a

charity program called Art of Jazz Community Voices. Overall, this is an uplifting story accompanied by a photograph of Harris in front of a piano with his young students.

Following this, Jane-Finch was dragged into a series of stories about city councillors in Scarborough campaigning against negative media depictions of their part of the city (DiManno, 2007a; Moloney, 2007; Cowan, 2007). The complaint was that virtually any crime in Scarborough, an area roughly 1/3 the total size of Toronto, is described as a “Scarborough crime.” By contrast, newspapers never wrote of “Central Toronto Crimes” or “North York crimes.” Journalists described these locations by intersections rather than by region. In response to the councillors’ campaign, Rosie DiManno (2007a) writes:

The Star has an existing policy—although my policy, personally, is to always ignore *Star* policy—that requires specificity rather than generalizations. Problem with that, residents on those streets, those neighbourhoods—Moss Park, Jane-Finch, St. Jamestown, to name a few—gripe just as vocally about stereotyping their communities, even when bald facts on the ground make it unavoidable (p. A2).

In this story, Jane-Finch is linked to a number of marginal communities in Toronto. Also, the idea that newspapers do not “stereotype” because “bald facts on the ground” justify such reports clearly outlines the sentiments of DiManno and perhaps many of her peers.

This series of articles was followed by reports of the success of the Canadian film *How She Move*, which is set in Jane-Finch though it was filmed mainly in Hamilton (“Go; Celebrity briefs,” 2007; Knight, 2007; Lacey, 2007; “Paramount grabs Toronto flick at Sundance,” 2007). The film first appeared at the Sundance Film Festival in

January and was purchased by Paramount for \$3.4 million (US) shortly afterward (“Go; Celebrity briefs,” 2007).

In March, Omar El Akkad (2007a) posited Chalkfarm Drive (located one block south of the Jane-Finch intersection) as “a contender for worst neighbourhood in the city” (p. A13). His article “The violence of Chalkfarm Drive” features a photograph of residents walking past a police car as if it is a constant element in their lives (El Akkad, 2007a, p. A13). It was followed less than a week later with “Youth of Chalkfarm caught in violent tide,” which features a photograph of graffiti in a stairwell and a detailed map outlining the area and the crimes it has experienced (El Akkad, 2007b, p. A10).⁴⁴

The *National Post* entered the collection of Jane-Finch depictions with a story entitled “Experiences as an immigrant prove a powerful tool” (Pacheco, 2007, p. EN4). The story details a successful immigrant and entrepreneur who lived in Jane-Finch for a period with his family. The first interview of a Jane-Finch resident in the *National Post* involves, somewhat typically, a man with conservative views whose comments downplay the social and economic challenges Jane-Finch residents face and position the individuals—not society—as blameworthy for these troubles:

They were on the move again—this time to a two room apartment in the high-crime, low income Jane-Finch area of Toronto. “If you lived in different streets in Calcutta, Jane and Finch would seem like Forest Hill. We had two rooms, a TV with cable; it’s all proportional,” he said. “There are a lot of victims in Jane and Finch, a lot of people who are

⁴⁴ I am unclear if El Akkad’s argument is that Chalkfarm Drive should replace the intersection of Jane-Finch as “the worst neighbourhood in the city” or simply confirms that the larger community of Jane-Finch is inherently violent.

not doing well and who want to blame the rest of society” (Pacheco, 2007, p. EN4).

In this case, Pacheco does not have to argue that Jane-Finch residents should not complain about their situation because they are to blame for their own misfortunes. Instead, he chooses a quotation from a source who says just that (I examine this kind of ideological positioning through selective sources in Section 4.2).

The *Toronto Star* was virtually the only newspaper to cover issues in Jane-Finch between March and May. Many of the articles focused on positive aspects of the community such as fewer school suspensions (Brown, 2007a) and community groups attempting to secure funding (Grewal, 2007a; Kalinowski, 2007b). With the release of a City of Toronto/ United Way study on “neighbourhoods in need,” the *Toronto Star* reported many stories on social issues on Jane-Finch (“Centre quickly became a hub,” 2007; Monsebraaten, 2007; Monsebraaten & Vincent, 2007; “Neighbourhoods in need,” 2007; “Searching for the silver bullet,” 2007). More stories on social programs followed in the *Toronto Star* (Ferenc, 2007; Gordon, 2007; Grewal, 2007b). During this time, both *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* reported crime stories (Gandhi, 2007a; Powell, 2007a). None of these crimes, however, were high profile and newspapers devoted relatively few words and resources to them.

Everything changed at 2 p.m. on May 23, 2007 when Jordan Manners was shot in the chest. On May 24, 2007, every major Canadian newspaper reported the details of Manners’ murder. These stories also introduce many readers outside Toronto to the neighbourhood. Generally, further down in the stories of the shooting was a description of Jane-Finch. “Residents have long endured violent outbreaks of street crime,” writes *The Globe and Mail* (Alphonso, Appleby & Gandhi, 2007, p. A1). *The Vancouver Sun*

described the neighbourhood simply as “troubled” (Leong & Coutts, 2007c, p. A4) as did the other CanWest newspapers like *The Ottawa Citizen* (Leong & Coutts, 2007b). Many newspapers without reporters on scene relied on a *Canadian Press* story describing Jane-Finch as “a poor area of Toronto noted for years for its high crime rate” (*Canadian Press*, 2007).⁴⁵ *The Hamilton Spectator*’s version removed this description in ““Sweet little boy” dies from gunshot at high school” (2007) but used the description four days later in “Teens charged in T.O. school shooting” (2007). Similarly, *The Kitchener-Waterloo Record* (“Teens charged in school shooting,” 2007, p. A3), *The Guelph Mercury* (“Charges laid,” 2007, p. A4), and *The Ottawa Citizen* (“Two 17-year-olds charged,” 2007, p. A9) all described Jane-Finch as “an area of Toronto noted for years for its high crime rate.” The *National Post* reported that the school “at the heart of the blighted Jane and Finch neighbourhood... mostly escaped the area’s violence [until now]” (Bielski, 2007a, p. A13). Finally, the *Toronto Star*, following its policy of identifying the closest intersection, did not use the term “Jane-Finch” in its May 24th coverage. Consequently, these stories do not appear in a Factiva search. Instead, the *Toronto Star* reported the shooting as occurring “near Keele St. and Finch Ave. W.” (Marlow, Grewal & Srikanthan, 2007, p. A1). The *Toronto Star* only began describing the general neighbourhood as “Jane-Finch” on May 25th (DiManno, 2007b, p. A1).

Stories relating to Manners’ killing continued in the weeks that follow. Months later, Jane-Finch was often described as “the place where Jordan Manners was shot” as in Gillespie and Rushowy (2007, p. A1), “Summer haven plans confirmed” (2007, p. A6), Girard (2007, p. A9), and Brown (2007d). Throughout the months following Manners’

⁴⁵ *The Canadian Press* is an agency providing news stories to news organizations. It is the analogue to wire services such as *The Associated Press* or *Agence France-Presse*.

death, Jane-Finch was dragged into myriad discourses, including psychology (Gandhi, 2007c); social psychology (“A frightened community,” 2007); criminal justice (Blatchford, 2007); education (Brown, 2007b); social justice (“Appalling neglect,” 2007, p. F6); “family values” (DiManno, 2007d; Offman, 2007); even fashion (Bielski, 2007b). These stories illustrate Foucault’s (2006) argument that objects are placed within certain discursive formations in order to present a discernable meaning within language. These statements involving Jane-Finch are “assigned particular modalities of existence” (Foucault, 2006, p. 121), whereby the neighbourhood makes sense to readers only after reporters interpolate it as an object within the disciplines of criminal justice, education, psychology, etc. More specifically, as Said (2003) writes, “rhetorically speaking, Orientalism is absolutely anatomical and enumerative: to use its vocabulary is to engage in the particularizing and dividing of things Oriental into manageable parts” (p. 72).

Three weeks after Manners’ death, police executed a massive raid targeting gangs in Jane-Finch and other areas of the city. This was arguably the biggest story in 2007 following the high school shooting. The initiative, named Project Kryptic by police, was largely concentrated on Jane-Finch. The arrests made the front page of the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, and the *Toronto Sun*. The descriptions of Jane-Finch were vivid:

As the sun rose over the troubled Jane-Finch area, 700 officers hailing from 16 different forces, including the RCMP and Ontario Provincial Police, burst into about 80 houses and apartments and plucked dazed suspects in pyjamas from their beds (Dobrota & Gwilt, 2007, p. A12)

[A Jane-Finch drug dealer] got an early wakeup call. At precisely 5 a.m. officers shouted into a megaphone outside Unit 4 at 50 Driftwood

Court, ordering him and two other occupants outside. With his seemingly random gunplay—no one was injured, police say—the dealer had unwittingly added himself to a long list of targets in the Toronto Police Service’s latest assault on gang members (Powell, 2007b, p. A1).

[P]olice vans in Toronto’s Jane-Finch neighbourhood overflowed with more than 60 suspects arrested in the wake of the high-profile shooting three weeks ago of a local high school student (Mennie, 2007, p. A6).

At this point, the *Toronto Star* published a chart entitled “A history of violence” that listed all of the violent crimes in Jane-Finch in the past two years. The list included a photograph of Manners above the caption “May 23: Jordan Manners, 15, is fatally shot in the chest” followed by descriptions of teens hit by bullets, a “semi-naked and bound shooting victim” who escaped a home invasion, a man shot in the face, a 13-year-old stabbed in the back, a plainclothed officer assaulted by a man trying to take his gun, and a four-year-old “sprayed with bullets” (“A history of violence,” 2007, p. A8). In short, the *Toronto Star* presented a 21-point list of crimes the neighbourhood was known for; Jane-Finch’s rap sheet so to speak. As Said (2003) writes “all things in history like history itself, are made by men [*sic*]” and so “many objects or places or times [are] assigned roles and given meanings that acquire objective validity only *after* the assignments are made” (p.54). Jane-Finch is assigned a position within the social order through a compilation of stories in the mainstream press. Journalists then justify this position by using their stories as evidence. This creates a self-fulfilling prophecy because, like Orientalists’ descriptions of the Orient, the justifications are circular: newspapers

generate a reputation for Jane-Finch as a criminal space and validate this representation by appealing to the notorious reputation of the area *they* have created. Conversely, newspapers could choose to cover all the community barbeques in the neighbourhood and publish “A history of good food” rather than “A history of violence.” If this occurred, the area would arguably take on the characteristic of an inherently warm, close-knit community rather than a notoriously violent one. Evidently, this is not the history the *Toronto Star* and other dominant Canadian newspapers record, and therefore this is not the history of Jane-Finch. Said (2003) observes, paraphrasing a text by Vico, “that men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography” (p. 5).

After Manners’ killing, human rights attorney Julian Falconer led the School Safety Community Advisory Panel, investigating and reporting his findings throughout 2007. In the summer, the panel conducted research and provided content for stories on school violence, low-income communities, and problems with bureaucracy. The panel released the “Interim Report on School Safety” on August 28, 2007 and the final report, “The Road to Health,” in January of 2008. The *Toronto Star* was virtually the only newspaper to provide continuous, detailed coverage of the panel’s progress. Many other newspapers reported little or nothing on Jane-Finch after the shooting and the police raids.

Newspaper stories depicting Jane-Finch in 2007 generally follow the trend set out so far. They include reports of violent crime. They question school safety. Many even address the mythical status of Jane-Finch directly. Since the stories from June to December do not present discourses that are considerably new or different from those I

have already detailed above, I present the rest of the articles in an annotated chart. The following list describes the most noteworthy stories in popular Canadian newspapers from June to December (for a complete list of stories involving Jane-Finch in 2007, see Appendix A).

LIST OF NOTABLE STORIES FROM JUNE-DECEMBER, 2007

Citation	Abstract and/or Quotation
Friesen, J. (2007, June 16). Where boundary issues turn deadly; With the map redrawn by gangs, Joe Friesen writes, access to vital youth programs is blocked for those who need them most. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , pp. A16-A17.	Friesen examines the lived experience of Jane-Finch residents and includes a map and photographs. I undertake a close analysis of this story in Section 4.3.
Powell, B. (2007, June 25). Empowerment at heart of poet's positive message; The M.A.D. Poet, a.k.a. Melissa Dean, hopes her optimistic lyrics will help to filter out the pervasive negativity associated with the Jane-Finch area. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A6.	Powell profiles a local poet: "Negative images about Jane and Finch, reinforced by this month's gang raid by Toronto police, may endure, but the M.A.D. Poet (a.k.a. Melissa Dean) hopes her powerful spoken-word video—and voice—and all the other "hidden talent" in the area can help filter out those frustratingly pervasive impressions."
Henry, M. (2007, July 6). 4 city blocks. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. L2.	Henry interviews a Jane-Finch resident about the stereotypes: "He's reluctant to divulge any personal details, his street address, his last name. But Emmanuel Browne, 23, gives in because he wants to talk about his 'hood. Residents are stigmatized by its main intersection, he says. It's Jane and Finch. Media rush to cover gangs, shootings and drug busts in the area, but sleep through parades."
Henry, M. (2007, August 10). Brampton mayor fights 'urban myth' on gangs. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A2.	The mayor of Brampton, north-west of Toronto, ends a rumour circulating that the government is paying criminals from Jane-Finch \$3,000-\$10,000 to move to Brampton.
Lewis, K. (2007, October 3). Babies born to poor moms at risk: Study finds Toronto moms in low-income areas more likely to have premature, underweight babies. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A10.	Lewis covers a health study in low-income neighbourhoods. A Jane-Finch resident is the first person mentioned in the article.
Hume, C. (2007, November 1). Regent Park redesign sign of lessons learned. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A11.	In a discussion of failed urban planning, Jane-Finch is used as an example: "it's clear that the big issue in the decades ahead will be the remediation...of 1950s and '60s suburbs such as Rexdale, Flemingdon Park, Malvern and Jane-Finch..."
Doolittle, R. (2007, November 10). Killers 'running through the halls'; As family prepares for funeral of slain 23-year-old, police focus search on their Jane-Finch building. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A16.	In stark contrast to the advertisement for Palisades depicted in Figure 4.5, Doolittle describes an apartment at Jane-Finch: "The decrepit red-brick housing complex feels like a prison....The stairwells reek of urine. There are bars on every hallway

White, N. (2007, November 18). A lesson in filming life; Changing minds about illness, Jane and Finch. *Toronto Star*, p. A1.

Lu, V. (2007, December 7). Army vs. gangs pitch nixed; Bring in troops to suppress street 'terrorists,' says councillor, but mayor and others don't support idea. *Toronto Star*, p. A6.

Goddard, J. (2007, December 15). He 'broke the stereotype' on Jane-Finch; Teenager who lost his battle with colon cancer wanted to show another side of neighbourhood. *Toronto Star*, p. A6.

window, even three storeys up. Chunks of plaster have been ripped off the walls and the dirty white tiled floors are uneven."

White profiles 18-year-old Alwyn Barry as he fights illness. Barry is part of an Audio-Video program called Shoot with this. "'You say Jane and Finch, people think drugs and guns,'" says Barry, who documented his battle with colon cancer in the hopes of changing people's attitudes. "I'm the opposite of that, a young man working hard to stay alive. I went to school even on chemotherapy.'

Lu reports Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti's request to call in the army to fight gangs in Jane-Finch. "Mammoliti says the military would be able to swoop in to curb gang violence, like the shootout that erupted in broad daylight this week in the Jane St. and Sheppard Ave. area. In some areas, residents are afraid to open their doors and talk to police. And police lack the tools to fight gangs, he said, suggesting that gangsters could be deemed as terrorists."⁴⁶ The article is serious in tone but the plans are later mocked in "Weird and wacky tales of the six old cities; From shocking scandals to silly stunts, 'burbs had interesting histories" (Byers, Spears, Moloney & Lu, 2008, p. A10).

Goddard reports of Alwyn Barry's death from colon cancer. "'He broke the stereotype,' film mentor Egerton Blackwood said yesterday. 'He was bright. He was articulate. He was from a two-parent family,' Blackwood said of his protégé from the Jane-Finch neighbourhood of northwest Toronto."

The last story of Jane-Finch in 2007 describes a group of women gathering in downtown Toronto to mourn their family members (Black, 2007). The main interviewee was Mona Alleyne, whose daughter was gunned down in Jane-Finch earlier in the year. The article is about a sombre subject but Black paints a human picture of the grieving parties. The story is not meant to sum up the coverage of Jane-Finch in 2007 but it does just that. The themes discussed in this section are all presented: "broken" families,

⁴⁶ This is not the first time members of a marginalized community are linked rhetorically to terrorists. Murray (1995) writes that "in typically militaristic language, the 'projects' [in Chicago newspapers] were compared to a battle zone, the gangs regarded as urban terrorists on a par with the Viet Cong" (p. 322).

violence, poverty and struggle. In the end, one is left with a group of human subjects who are not passive victims or vicious criminals. They are reflective and determined. It would be a fallacy to argue that all Jane-Finch residents are the same. This image of residents' resilience and determination, however, is a welcome change from the binary depictions of passivity and viciousness haunting most representation of the community in 2007.

4.2 Part Two: Speaking Truth in Jane-Finch

The second step Foucault (2006) suggests when analysing objects of discourse is describing the “authorities of delimitation” (p. 46). Who can speak for the objects? What truths are sayable? And how are these truths articulated? Newspapers and individual journalists act as gate-keepers to experts within the law, education, healthcare and other institutions (Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1989; Berkowitz, 1997). I separate this exploration into four parts. First, I examine journalists and the newspapers for which they write. Second, I analyse photographers, who work within a medium that often appears authorless. Third, I examine traditional experts, who are quoted as authorities. And finally, I examine non-traditional experts who surface to provide subjugated knowledges.

4.2.1 Journalists and Newspapers

The question of authorship in journalism is a difficult one. In “What is an author?” Foucault (1977) quotes a line from Beckett: “‘What does it matter who is speaking,’ someone said, ‘what does it matter who is speaking’” (p. 101). He argues that, among other things, the author functions as a name that allows people to “group together a certain number of texts, define them, differentiate them from and contrast them to

others” (Foucault, 1977, p. 107). In the Foucauldian sense, print journalism has two authors: the newspaper and the journalist.⁴⁷ In newspapers, both the institution and the individual journalist indicate to readers what content they can expect to find and in what style it will be delivered.

Where Barthes, Said and Foucault all seem to agree conceptually is that language is systematic. Power-knowledge, myth and Orientalism all rely on networks of authorities in order to function. Individual authors hold little power in these systems. As such, the newspaper, as an organization, is an important authority.

Building on Foucault’s work, Murray (1995), writes that newspapers empower readers by “presenting them with a knowledge that is intended both to aid in stationing the self socially, within the diagram of power, and to mask other operations of power underneath those which are made visible (p. 323). He uses a medical metaphor, arguing that mainstream media “diagnose the contagious parts of the social body” by positing the Other as abnormal, deviant and criminal (Murray, 1995, p. 323). Newspapers provide a “therapeutic function” by legitimating the normal, invisible “unnewsworthy segments of society as healthy” (Murray, 1995, p. 323). He calls this “discursive surgery” (p. 323). There are significant differences, however, in the way the various newspapers cover Jane-Finch. On one level, all mainstream newspapers participate in this “discursive surgery.” But it would be in bad faith to argue the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* are interchangeable. These newspapers have distinctive ideological underpinnings that create “professional ideologies” (Hall et al., 1978, p. 60). For readers,

⁴⁷ By journalist, I refer to the persona of the byline, which is not necessarily equivalent to the individual.

the very name of the newspaper “represents a knowledge that can heavily orientate the reading of the message” (Barthes, 1978a, p. 16).

The *Toronto Star* published 90 articles involving Jane-Finch in 2007—the most of any newspaper by far. It also provided the most breadth of coverage. Stories range from fear-inducing in “Gang wars feared at Jane-Finch school” (Rushowy & Grossman, 2007) to celebrations of resident talent in “Empowerment at heart of poet’s positive message” (Powell, 2007c). Its weekday circulation far outnumbers competitors in Toronto, exceeding 400,000 (*Toronto Star*, 2008).⁴⁸ But outside the city, the *Toronto Star* falls behind *The Globe and Mail*. Its largest demographic of readers are university graduates, 35-49 years of age with a household income of more than \$50,000 per year who own their own homes. As such, the *Toronto Star*’s main demographic is markedly different from the average Jane-Finch resident. Ideologically, the *Toronto Star* is the most liberal of the major papers. *Toronto Star* columnist Linwood Barclay (2007) sarcastically addresses the criticism of liberal bias in the newspaper, writing that “sometimes, all the columnists are brought in at once and seated, classroom-style, while a senior management person points to a picture of Stéphane Dion [Canada’s Liberal Party Leader], says ‘Good,’ and asks us all to repeat” (p. L15). The newspaper is clearly not an Orwellian propaganda machine, however, Barclay’s column acknowledges that many readers place the *Toronto Star* as a considerably liberal organisation in relation to other Canadian newspapers.

The Globe and Mail published 26 articles relating to Jane-Finch in 2007—the second highest. The majority of stories involve crime and violence such as “The violence

⁴⁸ The *Toronto Star*’s weekday circulation is more than 441,000 versus *The Globe and Mail* at 116,000 and *The National Post* at 74,000 (*Toronto Star*, 2008).

of Chalkfarm Drive” (El Akkad, 2007a) and “Gang guns and drugs on display” (Appleby, 2007c). It also provides notable hyperbole in 2007 describing Jane-Finch as “contender for worst neighbourhood in the city” (El Akkad, 2007a, p. A13) and “Canada’s Toughest Neighbourhood” (Friesen, 2007, p. A16). But to say *The Globe and Mail* is sensational would be an overstatement. The newspaper probes Jane-Finch from a number of perspectives, writing that Jane-Finch is “a close-knit community...home to people from all over the world” (Gandhi, 2007, p. A13) and covers dance groups in the area, writing of their impressive “intellectual depth” (Citron, 2007, p. R9). *The Globe and Mail* is the most widely read newspaper in Canada with a “cumulative six-day readership” of more than 2,800,000 (*The Globe and Mail*, 2008). It promises to deliver “Canada’s most sought-after demographic” to advertisers who apparently have post-graduate educations, work as professionals, and have household incomes of more than \$125,000 (*The Globe and Mail*, 2008). Again, Jane-Finch residents do not feature heavily in *The Globe and Mail*’s main reader demographic. Though *The Globe and Mail* has the most affluent readers of the major newspapers, its politics is relatively centrist, remaining somewhere between the *Toronto Star*’s acknowledged liberal ideological position and the *National Post*’s fairly conservative one.

The *National Post* published 12 articles on Jane-Finch in 2007. The headlines of these stories say much about the conservative “family-values” ideological positioning of the newspaper: “Experiences as an immigrant prove a powerful tool” (Lopez-Pacheco, 2007), “The Father factor” (Offman, 2007) and “Father hit by stray bullet in his backyard” (Alcoba, 2007b). The newspaper claims a readership in the mid-500,000s, the majority of which lives in Ontario and British Columbia (*National Post*, 2008a, 2008b).

Its average daily circulation is approximately 231,000 (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2006). Like the other two newspapers, the highest demographic of readers are age 35-49, have a household income above \$50,000, own their own homes and are university educated.

Newspaper	Total Weekly Readership
The Globe and Mail	2,769,100
Toronto Star ⁴⁹	2,132,100
National Post	1,570,200

Figure 4.7. Daily Readership of Top 3 Canadian Newspapers (CNA, 2008).

For understandable economic reasons, these newspapers target affluent members of society. As Muzzatti and Featherstone (2007) write, news is “heavily shaped by economic interests” and “it is no secret that stories of misery and violence sell rather well” (p. 44). With that said, the *Toronto Star* sets a clear mandate to cover Toronto stories and events. The *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* appeal to national audiences and therefore seem willing to neglect social and political issues in Jane-Finch, choosing to cover the more popular crime stories almost exclusively. This is unfortunate considering they could easily incorporate such stories in their local Toronto news sections but seem reluctant to put forward the effort or money needed to report on communities like Jane-Finch with more depth.

Individual journalists covered Jane-Finch repeatedly in 2007. At the *Toronto Star*, Kristin Rushowy and Iain Marlow both wrote 8 stories, Laurie Monsebraaten wrote 6, Rosie DiManno 5, Louise Brown 4, and Betsy Powell 3. At *The Globe and Mail*, Timothy Appleby wrote 7 stories involving Jane-Finch, Omar El Akkad wrote 5, Alex

⁴⁹ The readership of *The Toronto Star* is only within Toronto.

Dobrota 6, Unnati Gandhi 5, and Joe Friesen 4. Finally, at the *National Post*, Natalie Alcoba was the most to appear, writing 2 stories and contributing to one other. The majority of these journalists are crime reporters. One notable exception is the *Toronto Star*'s Louise Brown, an education reporter who followed many of the School Safety Community Advisory Panel stories.

One can usually predict the nature of the story simply by reading the byline. For example, all Jane-Finch articles by Omar El Akkad involve violence and crime. In fact, each one opens with frank and vivid depictions of violence and/or death:

A 13-year-old boy who is fighting for his life after being stabbed in the neck is the latest casualty on Chalkfarm Drive, where a barrage of violent crime has made the North York street a contender for worst neighbourhood in the city (El Akkad, 2007a, p. A13).

The residents of Chalkfarm Drive know the score. The building at 170 is Bloodz territory, they say; 160 is Cripps (El Akkad, 2007b, p. A10).

Toronto's plague of gun violence, which simmered in recent months through a steady rattle of street shootings, tore into a North York school yesterday, leaving a teenager dead and a city stunned. (Alphonso, Applby & Gandhi, 2007, p. A1) (with files from El Akkad).

Children at the party where 11-year-old Ephraim Brown was fatally shot saw multiple armed men with different gang affiliations take part in the late-night shootout that left him dead, an area youth worker has told The Globe and Mail (Friesen & Nixon, 2007, p. A16) (With a report from Omar El Akkad).

A man believed to be the cousin of slain 15-year-old Jordan Manners is facing murder charges after a 27-year-old Toronto man was killed in a shootout this weekend...Such is the calculus of everyday life in one of Toronto's most crime-ridden corners. (El Akkad, 2007c, p. A14).

This analysis can be applied to virtually all the individual journalists who appear multiple times in 2007. I point this out to illustrate that within each newspaper, the individual journalist tends to establish a reputation as author that is constituted by and constitutes the ideological positioning of the newspaper. An established journalist at an established newspaper has tremendous power to delimit what knowledges and truths exist by seeking “news,” choosing “experts” and ultimately constituting how one comes to “know” Jane-Finch.

4.2.2 Photographers

The photographer is likely the least explored author in discursive analyses.⁵⁰ Often, the photograph is considered a supplement to the text and given little consideration for its own rhetorical properties. In contrast, Barthes (1978a) argues that in our exceedingly visual world the photograph has now inverted this original hierarchy. “Formerly, the image illustrated the text (made it clearer); today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination” writes Barthes (1978a, p. 26).

The photographer speaks for the object as a discursive authority. Rose (2001) writes that the camera's “apparent truthfulness...has less to do with the technical

⁵⁰ In *Discourse Analysis* (1983), Brown and Yule mention photography only in passing: “Is there any non-arbitrary way of expressing the ‘content’ of a photograph as, for instance, a set of statements?” (p. 113). Johnstone (2002) writes nothing of photography in *Discourse Analysis*. And Macdonald (2007) devotes virtually no time to photography in *Exploring Media Discourse*.

capabilities of the camera and film and more to do with how photographs are understood” (p. 19). Despite the technical nature of the work, the photographer is not immune to “professional ideologies” (Hall et al., 1978, p. 60) or “professional socialization” (Surette, 1998, p. 61). Though the photographer does not translate reality into a language like a writer, he or she captures “reality” and presents it in a certain framing in a certain newspaper under a certain headline. The photographer “makes of an inert object a language” (Barthes, 1978a, p. 31). Using Foucault’s panoptic metaphor, the photographer is never seen but is the only one with visual power to document and represent. The invisibility of the photographer makes him/her a powerful authority, having the greatest chances of slipping through scepticism and being accepted as fact.

Images of Jane-Finch appear throughout 2007. But only after Manners’ death in May and the police raids in June are images of Jane-Finch presented on the cover of virtually every major newspaper. The shooting and the raids provide photographers with imagery seething with violence and desolation. Millions of Canadians passing by newsstands in 2007 were exposed to such images (as opposed to the thousands of regular readers flipping through a specific newspaper). On May 24, 2007 the *Toronto Star* presented a shot of Manners’ mother Lorraine Small grief-stricken and walking as if in a trance. The heading is “Shattered haven” (p. A1). In the top right corner is a small file photo of Manners (which I analyze further down). *The Globe and Mail* featured a blown-up portrait of Manners under the headline “Teen shot dead in Toronto School” (the same photograph as in the *Toronto Star*). The *National Post* published a photograph of students walking out of school accompanied by two police officers. The headline is “Young victim remembered as ‘a good kid’” (p. A1). Finally, the *Toronto Sun* featured a large

photograph of Lorraine Small collapsed against a mailbox, a police officer assisting her as a crowd forms behind them. The headline: “Teen Slain—Over Prank” (p.1).⁵¹

These images present Jane-Finch through visual language. The neighbourhood enters the public consciousness not as an impartial geographical space but as a place brimming with violence, poverty and crime. The photographs are also the *only* images of Jane-Finch readers see on the covers of popular Canadian newspapers in 2007. As writes Rose (2001) “the visual is central to the cultural constructions of social life” (p. 6). She espouses Foucault’s panoptic metaphor to support her claim, arguing that visual surveillance is closely linked to “scopic regimes” (Rose, 2002, pp. 1-2). As Jenkins (1995) argues, “looking, seeing and *knowing* have become perilously intertwined” (p. 2, italics added). What the public sees is truth; the photograph *is* Jane-Finch for many readers.

These photographs become “tropes,” a term literally meaning figure of speech (White, 1978). In this sense, however, I refer to both the mode and style of representation that converts a metaphorical language into a literal one. Bloom (2003) refers to tropes as the linguistic equivalent to psychological defence mechanisms, arguing that tropes allow altered representations of the world in order to make it more acceptable. In Bloom’s definition, one can see traces of Said’s (2003) *Orientalism*:

In newsreels or newsphotos, the Arab is always shown in large numbers. No individuality, no personal characteristics or experiences. Most of the pictures represent mass rage and misery, or irrational

⁵¹ Two covers of *The Toronto Sun* exist. The first edition featured a banner along the top of the newspaper with an image of Johnny Depp from his latest film. The second edition replaced the photograph of Depp with an image of the latest American Idol winner, Jordin Sparks, with the somewhat tasteless caption “It’s Jordin!”

(hence hopelessly eccentric) gestures. Lurking behind all of these images is the menace of *jihad* [or, for our purposes, widespread violence] (p. 287).⁵²

All four cover images feature a photograph of victims, either a young child (physical victim), a grieving mother (emotional victim), or exhausted students (victims of circumstance). The victims are all ethnic minorities and, in most cases, accompanied by active, white male authority figures. In the *Toronto Star* and the *Toronto Sun*, Manners' mother is overcome by emotion and unable to cope while the police officers remain rational, suppressing any emotions.⁵³ The stereotype of the primitive black person unable to control instinct and emotion versus the rational and collected white person is further supported by the photographers who capture these images (see Hall, 2003b).

These photographs become signs of Jane-Finch that connote all that the neighbourhood now embodies—black victims, the ever-present menace of violent crime, and helpless groups of onlookers (all of whom threaten to become victims and criminals at any moment).⁵⁴ Such images are presented as objective representations of what Jane-Finch *is* as well as what Jane-Finch *is not*. Absences in the photographs are important. Newspapers publish innumerable photographs of grieving (black) women and children but virtually no men.⁵⁵ The absence of men, grieving or not, further supports the myth of the absentee father in low-income, high-immigrant neighbourhoods. The photographer

⁵² Though a family photograph of Manners was published in most newspapers, the majority of photographs taken by newspaper photographers focused on massive group shots in public places such as the school after the shooting, the mourning sessions held afterward, and other community events.

⁵³ These observations also apply to the photographs published on May 24, 2007 in *The Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Montreal Gazette*, and *The Chronicle Herald* (Nova Scotia).

⁵⁴ In fact, Blatchford (2007), reveals that the two alleged murderers were present in the crowds that gathered after Manners' death.

⁵⁵ The only men are predominantly white police officers whom one may reasonably assume have entered Jane-Finch and therefore do not reflect the nature of the place.

who captures the images or the editors who select them may simply be choosing the most impactful photographs with no intention of propagating myth or stereotype. This does not change the fact, however, that these photographs work as sources of knowledge that deny the possibility of decent fathers, successful youth, and authoritative females in the neighbourhood by leaving such individuals visually absent. In fact, it is this violent denial of certain possibilities and the mythic affirmation of stereotypes that may lead photographers and editors—not always consciously—to deem these images impactful in the first place.

One can interpret photographs in many different ways. Barthes (1978a) writes “for a particular photograph I can give a right-wing reading or a left-wing reading” (p. 30). The text, however, steers the reader toward a specific interpretation. “The second-order message is fully amplified in the captions and headlines,” writes Hall (1973, p. 185). In both the *Toronto Star* and the *Toronto Sun*, photograph captions focus on the inconsolable mother, describing how “Lorraine Small is overcome with grief...learning her son had died” (*Toronto Star*, p.A1) and “police try to comfort a woman [Lorraine Small] who collapsed outside C.W. Jeffreys after she learned her son had been shot” (*Toronto Sun*, p. 1). Like the *Toronto Sun*, the *National Post* describes the active role of the police before mentioning anything about Small or Manners. The *National Post* focuses more on the authorities, writing “Toronto Police escort students from C.W. Jefferys...after a 15-year-old boy was shot dead” (p. A1). In an interesting variation, students have a more active role in the caption inside the *Toronto Star*: “Students under lockdown at C.W. Jefferys Collegiate Institute signal they’re all right from a classroom window” (p. A20). This is a marked difference from the *National Post*, which describes

the students as being “escorted” by police (p. A1), and the *Toronto Sun*, which writes “Emergency workers take away one of two students who collapsed during the lockdown yesterday” (p. 4).

Virtually every newspaper in Canada printed the same photograph of Manners in the weeks that followed his death (figure 4.8). The photograph was the only visual on the cover of *The Globe and Mail* on May 24 and appeared on the front page of *The Toronto Star* the same day. The *National Post* used the photograph repeatedly in coverage of Jane-Finch in 2007 as did many newspapers. This photograph, taken before Manners’ death, became symbolic of Jane-Finch in 2007. It took on metonymic properties, substituting all of Jane-Finch with this one image of a young, dead boy. DiManno (2007c) goes so far as to write:

In death, [Manners] become[s] a symbol of something rotting in our midst. It’s a flesh-eating disease, a corrosion of respect that claims victims throughout the city, not just in the Jane-Finch corridor where Jordan resided and was slain at the very school where he’d shone so brightly...Not about the guns. Not about the drugs and the gangs. Not about whether schools are lax in discipline, teachers overwhelmed, education officials deaf and blind...Not about programs for at-risk youth and which government has failed to fund them properly...More basic than all that, there is the disaffected, nihilistic disregard for the value of life: Jordan’s, certainly, but also the ruined futures of whoever pulled the trigger and anyone else party to murder (p. A6).

The photograph is a medium close up of Manners in the centre from a slightly elevated angle. He wears a blue hooded jacket over a white dress shirt. His hair is braided and falls back around his shoulders. His face is youthful with an innocent expression. His

eyes look down at the ground. The *National Post* explains the photograph in the caption: “The victim, Jordan Manners, was described by friends as a quiet basketball fan and aspiring actor” (p. A12). The *Toronto Star* simply describes him as “Victim, Jordan Manners, 15” (p. A1). Finally, *The Globe and Mail* writes beneath the photograph “Jordan Manners, 15, was fatally shot in a mid-afternoon attack in a second-floor hallway...sparking a massive police hunt for the killer” (p. A1). It may seem natural for newspapers to describe Manners as “victim” and to use a photograph taken shortly before his death. But this is not merely a *reflection* of reality. As Albin (2006) writes, even with human beings “we are always dealing with signs, not an objective, unmediated reality” (p. 22). For newspaper readers in 2007, Manners was more than a dead boy. He was Jane-Finch.

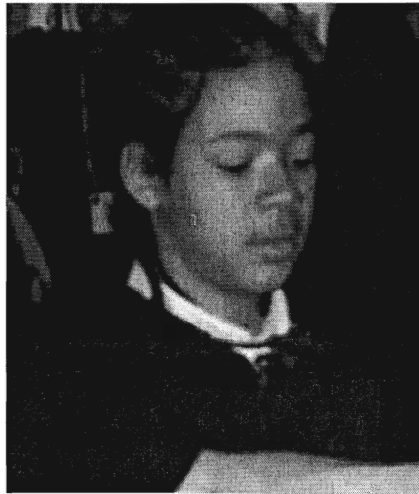


Figure 4.8. File photograph of Jordan Manners from Internet (2007).

Manners’ descending glance positions him as a passive victim (even before his death) rather than an individual with agency or free will. The slightly elevated position of the camera creates power for the viewer, removing it from the subject (see Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001; Rose, 2001). His small, delicate stature relays connotations of frailty and

helplessness within a violent and dangerous community.⁵⁶ Manners was eventually converted from economic victim to murder victim, which indicates the violence and criminality pervasive in his community. As a frail, passive, minority in a single-parent family, Manners embodied virtually all the stories on Jane-Finch in 2007: “Neighbourhoods in need” (2007), “The father factor” (Offman, 2007), “Many ethnic communities seek school violence inquiry” (2007), “Life in an urban ‘battlefield’” (Diebel, 2007), “Gang wars feared at Jane-Finch school” (Rushowy & Grossman, 2007), and “Families forever broken” (Black, 2007). This is not a neutral image.

To illustrate the power of this iconic photograph, compare it to a much different one. In November, the *Toronto Star* interviewed Alwyn Barry in Humber River Regional Hospital (White, 2007). Barry was dying of cancer at the time of his interview but his photograph presents an active, empowered youth. In the large, horizontally-formatted image that accompanies the article, Barry is eye-level within a medium close-up. His eyes confront the viewer, giving him power over the spectator. His arm is raised with an intravenous extension in his forearm, indicating that in all his pain, he is still active, moving and in control. Despite his thin build (from chemotherapy), Barry’s face is composed and strong. His right bicep is flexed and defined. In the caption describing him, Barry says of his film “I needed people to see what I went through day to day” (White, 2007, p. A14).

⁵⁶ Even though Manners’ body is “natural,” in the sense that he cannot choose his stature, his body nevertheless signifies certain concepts by virtue of its placement in newspapers.

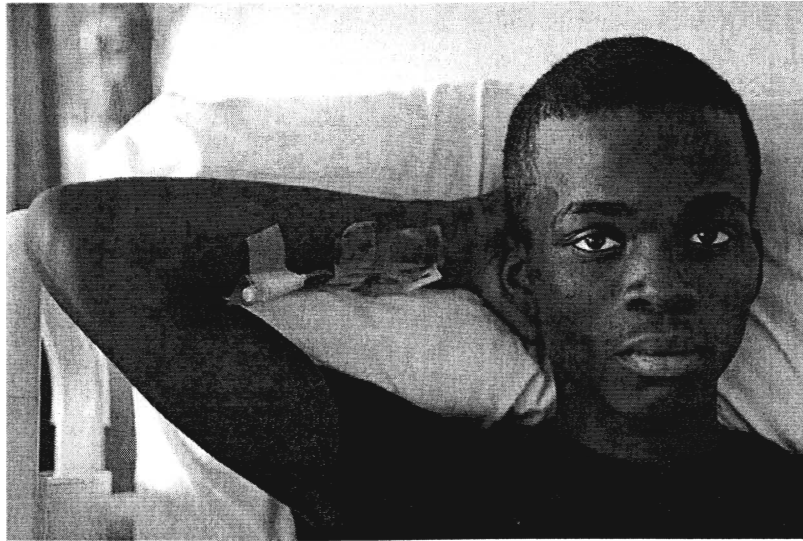


Figure 4.9. Photograph of Alwyn Barry (*Toronto Star*, 2007).

The text guides one's interpretation of the image. Barry is the main source of information in the story. White (2007) presents him as an authority on Jane-Finch. The other sources are his high school mentor Egerton Blackwood and his father Forbes Barry, who is present and attentive to his child. "I can't express how proud I am of him" is the quotation from his father that ends the story (White, 2007, p. A14).

Compare Barry's photograph, appearing in the *Toronto Star* on page 14, to the cover of *The Globe and Mail* on May 24, 2007, where a large photograph of Manners looking down to the left appears beside three quotations: The first is Toronto Mayor David Miller saying "It is far too easy for thugs with no conscience to use a gun to create a tragedy like this;" the second is Toronto Police Chief Bill Blair saying "it's shocking that such a crime can take place in our schools;" and the third, and lowest in position, is a quotation from a 17-year-old student at C. W. Jeffreys saying "If you go inside there's nice people, nice teachers, everything's normal" (p. A1). Although the student is the only one with lived experiences supporting his comments, *The Globe and Mail* positions him as a negligible knowledge source. Miller and Blair's statements, which express fear and

anxiety, appear as authoritative by virtue of their higher positions and job descriptions preceding their names. The student's statement is presented as the counterclaim to the politician and the police chief. *The Globe and Mail* positions the argument as follows: The mayor says it is easy for "thugs...to use a gun" (p. A1). The police chief confirms that "such a crime can take place" (p. A1). The only one who contradicts this is a student (one of thousands). Clearly, the authoritative, older, white, males are the experts. Only a naïve child would say otherwise. Here, the rhetoric of the photographer is confirmed by the text. The photograph, supported by the written statements, confirms our fears, simultaneously creating dread and making it an objective reality. These fears are positioned as fact through experts who are granted the authority to "police" the truth, separating it from untruth (Foucault, 2006).

4.2.3 Authoritative Knowledge Sources

Authoritative sources are a staple in conveying truths in newspapers. Almost infinite potential knowledge sources exist, including official documents, academic texts, statistics and direct observation. But, as Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1989) point out, "journalists tend to limit themselves to the 'performatives' of news releases and interview quotations" (p. 1). Journalists generally quote Jane-Finch residents for dramatic effect in crisis situations (thus providing the performative aspect of quotations). For information, they turn to experts. This arrangement is not unique to Jane-Finch and is covered extensively by Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1987, 1989), Meyer (1987), Herman and Chomsky (1988), and de Burgh (2000). Accordingly, I limit myself to a brief discussion

of traditional authoritative sources and explore more thoroughly the occasions when these channels are bypassed or contested in coverage of the neighbourhood.

Crime is covered widely in newspapers. One reason for this is that police investigations are easy to monitor; many stories are attained by listening to police radios in the newsroom. Afterward, arrest records are generally made public. Thus, it is not surprising that police officers or spokespersons are relied upon heavily in stories such as Appleby (2007a), Dobrota (2007c), El Akkad (2007a), and Powell (2007a). Police are the only sources in a number of stories (Appleby, 2007b; Gandhi, 2007a). They are even the main subjects in stories such as “Who is policing the non-cop cams out there?” (Fiorito, 2007), “Sergeant Soccer” (Huffman, 2007, p. C7), and “Arrests not a solution to gang violence: expert” (2007).⁵⁷

Police Chief Bill Blair is the most often quoted officer, appearing 42 times in stories on crime in Jane-Finch. DiManno (2007d) relies heavily on the police chief’s comments in “What’s on the street starts at home”:

Blair counters that gang and gun activity isn’t localized anymore, that its adherents routinely migrate from home ’hood to the entertainment district on weekends, so the violence has contaminated areas that once felt safe and impervious... The people who commit violence in Jane-Finch or in Rexdale or Scarborough or Brampton or Mississauga, they come in from those neighbourhoods and they bring their weapons and propensity for violence down into this neighbourhood,” Blair said, as a backfiring car’s pop-pop caused reporters to swing their heads (p. A2).

⁵⁷ Note the proclamation of “expert” in the last headline.

In this story, DiManno (2007d) uses Blair's comments to support her own thesis that criminals from bad homes are invading the streets of Toronto. As the highest ranking officer in Toronto, Blair, whose comments criminalise whole areas of the city, is legitimised and presented as knowing the facts. Fleras and Elliott (2007) observe that the police force and young visible minority groups often form a sort of vicious cycle of recognition. Young ethnic minorities tend to view the police as the "visible embodiment of a white establishment that criminalizes people on the basis of colour" (Fleras & Elliott, 2007, p. 309; see also Holdaway, 1996; Smith, 2003; and Ungerleider, 1995). As a result, such marginalised youth act antagonistically towards the police, who "are likened to just another gang in the city...with uniforms, patches, weapons, and an internal code of ethics" (Fleras & Elliott, 2007, p. 310; see also Hall, 2003; and Mercer & Julien, 1994). These stereotypical notions elicit stereotypical responses among each group—with real consequences when such attitudes are acted upon. The police perspective of young black hoodlums, however, is the dominant discourse disseminated in mainstream media, making it the "reality" for newspaper readers.⁵⁸

The police staged many public relations events in 2007 to attract media attention. This was a strategy for bringing good publicity to the force and was most effective in stories such as "Anti-gang raid nets more than 60 arrests, 30 guns" (Dobrota & Gwilt, 2007), "The Driftwood takedown" (Powell, 2007b), and "Quick arrests help keep streets safe in short term" (Appleby, 2007b). At these events, police officers present

⁵⁸ One obvious contradiction is the *Toronto Star's* famous series in 2002 detailing the Toronto Police Department's alleged racial profiling of primarily black citizens (Nelson & Nelson, 2004). Arguably, this public scrutiny has forced the discourse of race underground, replacing terms like "black" with euphemisms like "diverse." I discuss this further in Part Three of this Chapter.

photography opportunities that display guns and drugs seized during arrests. As Fiorito (2007) writes, “the police have PowerPoint down pat” (p. E2).

Statistics from the police are also a frequent source of information. These statistics, however, are not outside the discursive field. Such statistics are conceived and gathered by the police, who choose how to enforce the criminal code and how such crimes are recorded. As Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1989) observe, police statistics are a result of the “desire to show both efficiency and the need for more resources” (p. 169). Therefore, even if it was epistemologically possible, crime statistics available to journalists would not necessarily reflect the world objectively.

Legal representatives also appear frequently in Jane-Finch coverage. Law, like the police force, is a public institution from which journalists can access official information, particularly as it relates to crime and punishment. Lawyers provide quotes in many stories (Alcoba, 2007a; Blatchford & Debrota, 2007; Kalinowski, 2007a; Small, 2007). After being commissioned to head a panel on safety in high schools, human rights lawyer Julian Falconer was quoted at least 35 times in stories such as “Panel probes ways to keep students safe” (Marlow, 2007a) and “School not a war zone, panel says” (Medley, 2007).

Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1989) refer to lawyers as contradictory to neighbourhood witnesses or “regular” people, suggesting the former are hegemonic and conformist while the latter are potentially resistant. In some cases, however, lawyers speak for both the traditional judicial system *and* the marginalised community. Lawyer Roger Rowe, a source in “The violence of Chalkfarm Drive” (El Akkad, 2007a), is an active community member in Jane-Finch. He argues that many problems in the community stem from “a shortage of schools and teachers” and “the lure of gangs for

those who have nowhere else to turn” (El Akkad, 2007a, p. A13). Similarly, Courtney Betty is the Manners’ family lawyer and appears many times as a representative of the normative legal system *and* the community. In “Teens sought out 15-year-old victim,” Betty argues:

“[I]n certain communities, young men are protecting themselves” by picking up guns. “It’s fear,” Mr. Betty said, coupled with the notion that “that’s what makes you a man, carrying something in your waist ... and if you don’t, and you’re sitting on the fence, you’re a target for everyone.” (Blatchford & Dobrota, 2007, p. A1).

Though Lora Patton is not a resident of Jane-Finch, the lawyer represents a counter-hegemonic view nonetheless. Patton, a member of the Community and Legal Aid Services Program at Osgoode Hall, argues:

There’s no question in my mind (the Safe Schools Act) is discriminatory. A lot of it is class as much as race...The way it’s applied in schools from poorer areas, what we see is, kids who are part of a group of friends are seen as gangs (Kalinowski, 2007a, p. D4).

Finally, criminal lawyer Edward Sapiano suggests that massive executions of search warrants “is heavy-handed” and “violates such core constitutional rights as the freedom to stay home without the expectancy of a police officer’s finger on the doorbell” (Appleby, 2007a, p. A1). He also says “it’s not good enough to come up with a mode of policing and apply it to one group” (*ibid*). These statements contradict other traditional authorities and demonstrate that lawyers, often linked ideologically with the police force, can present marked distinctions between conservative expectations and the criticisms of society they express. Even outspoken Toronto Mayor David Miller is a University of

Toronto Law School graduate who grew up in a single-parent home (Offman, 2007, p. A21). He adamantly rejects blaming single mothers for problems in Jane-Finch.

The education system is also a frequent source of authority in newspapers. Education Minister Kathleen Wynne appeared dozens of times throughout the year (Alcoba, 2007a; Blatchford & Dobrota, 2007; Brown, 2007c; Girard, 2007; Kalinowski, 2007a; “Summer haven plans confirmed,” 2007). Outspoken Toronto District School Board Trustee and Jane-Finch resident Stephnie Payne also appeared in numerous stories including “Trustee has insider’s view” (Brown, 2007b). Payne’s feud with Toronto District School Board Superintendent Verna Lister is highly publicized in stories such as “Payne, Lister urged to heal rift” (Marlow & Rushowy, 2007). Because Jordan Manners was shot inside a school, many teachers and principals express their opinions in the coverage (“A frightened community,” 2007; DiManno, 2007c; Marlow & Kassam, 2007).

Professors from Ryerson University (Kalinowski, 2007, p. A3), Wilfrid Laurier University (Gordon, 2007), the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Offman, 2007) and York University (Monsebraaten & Daly, 2007a, 2007b; Friesen, 2007) frequently appear as authorities in their respective disciplines. Speaking of health problems in Jane-Finch, York University professor Dennis Raphael says, “these communities are making people sick, but...it’s more about raising people’s incomes than razing buildings” (Monsebraaten & Daly, 2007a, p. A1). Doug Young of the same university argues that “Jane and Finch is the result of three ideas that collided in the late 1960s: the need for public housing, the desire to experiment with urban planning, and the opening up of Canada’s immigration policy to non-whites” (Friesen, 2007, p. A17). Like lawyers, education officials do not always hold conservative or conformist views. They do,

however, support the distinction between “official” knowledge and “unofficial” knowledge by virtue of providing “expert” opinions as representative of authoritative institutions. These official knowledges may not represent dominant discourses or ideologies, but they affirm a barrier between the professor’s (or lawyer’s, or constable’s, etc.) ability to speak subjugated knowledge officially and residents’ inability to do the same.

A number of other authorities appear in 2007 including representatives of religion (Whyte, 2007; Gerson, 2007), psychiatry (Blatchford, 2007) and the media (“Arrests not a solution,” 2007). At many points, authoritative groups are linked together, as in “A frightened community” (2007) in which the writer argues: “The idea that schools, churches, hospitals or any other institutions are inviolate ground is a fiction peculiar to law-abiding adults” (p. A14). Statements like these demonstrate that institutions, on a macro-level, are often seen as compatible in that all reproduce and are reproduced by the contemporary social power system. On an individual level, however, representatives are not mechanical pod people and are often very critical of the dominant social system of which they are a part.

4.2.4 Subjugated Knowledge Sources

As quoted knowledge sources, Jane-Finch residents generally appear in stories to serve one of two functions. They provide emotional reactions to scenes of death and violence or they provide quotations that support dominant beliefs.⁵⁹ Foucault (1995) writes that those on the periphery are “the objects of information, never a subject in

⁵⁹ Recall the former Jane-Finch resident in Pacheco (2007) who argues “there are a lot of victims in Jane and Finch, a lot of people who are not doing well and who want to blame the rest of society” (p. EN4)

communication” (p. 200). As such, Jane-Finch residents do not provide authoritative statements or expert opinions in the popular news media.⁶⁰ Unlike attorney Julian Falconer or Police Chief Bill Blair, who appear repeatedly in coverage of Jane-Finch, residents are used interchangeably. Journalists interview witnesses or family members immediately after events but often forget them afterward. As Rob Lamberti of the *Toronto Sun* describes, “people on the street think you have no time for them, that you’re going to write the story and then disappear into the woodwork—which is a fair criticism because, ultimately, that’s what happens” (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 68).

Furthermore, Jane-Finch sources often appear as shady and ignorant characters. DiManno at the *Toronto Star* and Blatchford at *The Globe and Mail* dwell on this sort of character—sometimes with very similar descriptions:

At the housing complex, there was some disgruntlement that Police Chief Bill Blair had not yet come by to offer condolences to the family. “He’s supposed to be the big police chief,” said Brian Manners, who identified himself as Jordan’s brother, though he does not appear to be biological son to Small. “What are you doing now? Stop in” (DiManno, 2007b, p. A1).

A young man who said he was Jordan’s brother Brian Manners (though Ms. Small said several times she had three daughters and only two sons, the oldest Calvin, so perhaps Brian is a half-brother) was asked if the police had been by...“This Bill Blair guy on TV,” he said, referring to the Toronto police chief. “I don’t see him here. I see him on TV for

⁶⁰ Toronto District School Board trustee Stephnie Payne is one of the few Jane-Finch residents able to express “official” opinions. Her position, however, inhabits a liminal space between authority (as a trustee) and non-authority (as Jane-Finch resident) that may hinder her ability to speak completely as either an authority or a non-authority.

every other case.” (In fact, Chief Blair has never visited a grieving family at such an early stage of a homicide investigation.) Brian has gold front teeth, studs and tattoos, and said that where “white kids might talk” to the police, black ones wouldn’t, because “they’re used to you [the police] harassing them, see what I’m saying? Cut down on the harassment” (Blatchford, 2007, p. A1).

One way to understand this trope is to consider Foucault’s (1995) description of the criminal. “It is indiscipline, rather than the criminal offence, that causes the rupture,” he writes (Foucault, 1995, pp. 291-292). “An indiscipline of language: incorrect grammar and the tone of the replies ‘indicate a violent split between the accused and society’” (ibid). In other words, a person who criticises Police Chief Blair, a symbol of discipline and expertise, cannot logically appear as an expert in the same newspaper that quotes Blair frequently as an authority figure. And so Blair is depicted as official and knowledgeable; attention is paid only to his statements. In contrast, the resident, is described by his first name “Brian” (Blatchford, 2007, p. A1), his statements are presented as contentious, and his physical appearance is described in much greater detail, emphasising symbols of deviance (gold teeth, studs, and tattoos).⁶¹

Four stories in 2007 break with this trend, positioning residents as more than mere faces in crowds. These sources are not typical. And this is precisely why they challenge the binary between traditional authoritative experts and inconsequential, “unofficial” knowledge. These stories provide glimpses of how residents might retain more agency in future journalism—by journalists accepting them as legitimate sources with important

⁶¹ As Cohen (2005) describes, objects often become symbolic of a group or subculture when depicted by the media in a certain context and these symbols can then evoke the more general concept of crime and deviance.

perspectives despite not necessarily having professional designations. The first story is an interview with a Jane-Finch resident about life in his community (Henry, 2007, p. L2), the second is a profile of a local spoken word poet (Powell, 2007, p. A6), and the final two articles profile Alwyn Barry who filmed his battle with colon cancer and passed away in December at age 18 (White, 2007, pp. A1,; Goddard, 2007, p. A6).

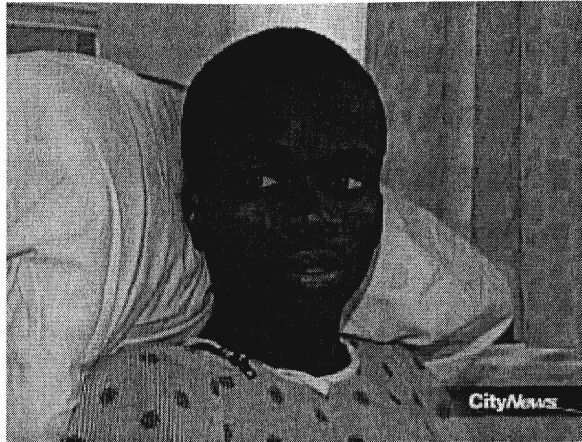


Figure 4.10. Video still of Alwyn Barry (*CityNews*, 2007).

Jane-Finch residents are the primary sources of information in these articles. In “Empowerment at heart of poet’s positive message,” Powell (2007c) interviews Melissa Dean, a poet and Jane-Finch resident; Justin Wright, Dean’s manager and childhood friend; and Paul Nguyen, creator of Jane-Finch.com. “In lesson in filming life,” White (2007) interviews aspiring filmmaker Alwyn Barry as well as his high school mentor and his father. And in “4 City Blocks” resident Emmanuel Browne is the *only* knowledge source (Henry, 2007, p. L2).

In each article, journalists accept that negative representations of Jane-Finch are ubiquitous in the media and attempt to challenge such images through the knowledge of one or more resident. Powell (2007c) writes “negative images of Jane and Finch, reinforced by this month’s gang raid by Toronto police may endure, but [Dean] hopes her

52



52

Powell and the other journalists question the authoritative nature of mainstream Canadian newspapers both within the text and through the decisions they make outside the text. Powell (2007) writes that Jane-Finch is one of “Toronto’s so-called at-risk communities” (p. A6). The “so-called” description contradicts the traditional image of the all-seeing, all-knowing news media. Here, Powell (2007) questions the epistemology of the journalists covering Jane-Finch. This is a distinctly critical view, particularly compared to earlier stories where writers attempt to enter Jane-Finch and *explain* it to itself and others such as “Suburbia gone sour: The Jane-Finch tragedy” (Heller & Teshler, 1979, p. A1). In “4 city blocks,” Henry (2007) writes, “Media rush to cover gangs, shootings and drug busts in the area, but sleep through parades” (p. L2). By being part of “the media,” Henry (2007) implicitly criticizes himself. He demonstrates that journalists may not *be* a monolithic group; nevertheless, he recognizes this is often how disenfranchised groups like Jane-Finch residents view them. Consequently, journalists must take responsibility for the larger group with which they are affiliated. It is not enough to deny wrong-doing; journalists must work toward *undoing* the symbolic violence committed against these neighbourhoods.

The articles capture the lived experiences of Jane-Finch residents in ways reactionary quotations during tragic events never could. “I needed people to see what I went through day-to-day,” Barry says, “to show another side of life in the neighbourhood centred at the Jane St. and Finch Ave. W. Intersection” (Goddard, 2007, p. A6). Barry recalls changing schools at one point so he would not have to deal with the stigma of telling people he went to school in Jane-Finch. “But kids asked where he lived,” writes White (2007, p. A1). Similarly, Browne relates stories of police harassment and

difficulties in job interviews (Henry, 2007, p. L2). The first question a perspective employer asks Browne is “do you own a gun?” His reply: “If I did, I wouldn’t be here” (Henry, 2007, p. L2). Browne says in the interview that he loves the friendly, multicultural nature of Jane-Finch. What he hates is the stereotype that “if you live in this area you have no future” (Henry, 2007, p. L2). “People think that if you live at Jane-Finch, then you’re useless or you’re hopeless,” Browne tells Henry (2007, p. L2).

The popular Canadian news media often depict Jane-Finch negatively, reproducing dominant discourses and regimes of truth. Barthes, Foucault and Said have all theorised the workings of such discursive regimes and representational power. Much of their work has been influenced by the structuralist paradigms of Saussure (1990), who writes that “no individual, even if he [*sic*] willed it, could modify...the existing language” (p. 59). The difference with these post-structuralists’ notions of power and representation, however, is that no such fixity exists. In this changing structure, there may be room for negotiation and resistance. I would argue that the stories by Powell (2007c), Henry (2007), White (2007) and Goddard (2007)⁶² embody this potential for change within power-knowledge systems. It is true that the overall structure of these dominant systems do not change with these stories. Critics may even argue that tokens such as these, in which acceptance of subjugated knowledge is condoned by the dominant media, strengthen rather than challenge this dominant system of representation. This study is not an attempt to solve this problem or present an alternative system. I do not claim the articles do this either. Instead, the articles illustrate that exceptions to dominant modes of

⁶² Goddard (2007) simply reiterates White’s (2007) story and so I do not analyse it separately.

representation exist.⁶³ There is a real possibility that the stereotyper can acknowledge the stereotypes he or she creates and work to change them.

4.3 Part Three: Grids of Specification

The final step Foucault (2006) suggests when analysing objects of discourse is examining their “grids of specification” (p. 46). Where do the objects fit? How are they linked to other objects? How are they grouped, divided and classified? To some degree, the answers to these questions have begun to surface in Parts One and Two of this Chapter. In this section, I focus on how Jane-Finch is depicted as one in a series of criminal communities, thereby becoming aligned with other “problem” neighbourhoods in the Greater Toronto Area. I also examine how myth and Orientalism help posit Jane-Finch within grids of specification through a close reading of *The Globe and Mail* article “Where boundary issues turn deadly” (Friesen, 2007) at the end of this Chapter.

4.3.1 Mapping Criminal Space

Just as Said (2003) writes that “to use the word *Oriental* was a reference for the reader sufficient to identify a specific body of information [that]...seemed to have an epistemological status equal to that of historical chronology or geographical location” (p. 205), the term “Jane-Finch” is now a metonymic statement in popular Canadian newspapers loaded with implicit meaning. This metonym’s success is dependent upon historically-determined understandings of Jane-Finch. By 2007, the term is enough to evoke certain “laws of possibility” (Foucault, 2006, p. 103). These laws work as “rules of

⁶³ The exception, in this case, is that the subjugated resident is taken seriously as a source of knowledge. The general mode of reporting otherwise remains relatively static.

existence for the objects that are named, designated, or described within it, and for the relations that are affirmed or denied in it” (Foucault, 2006, p. 103). The images, ideas, and connotations that arise from the term “Jane-Finch” designate what is possible (crime, violence, poverty, misery) and what is *not* possible (safety, education, success and prosperity). Whether these connotations are statistically or objectively accurate is immaterial. It is how dominant newspapers position Jane-Finch and it is therefore how one knows it.

Jane-Finch is not the only space that becomes symbolic of these conditions. Readers familiar with Toronto crime coverage would likely consider Scarborough, Regent Park, Malvern and Lawrence Heights, among others, to have similar criminal reputations. In newspapers, mention of one of these neighbourhoods often leads to mention of others. The reputation of each neighbourhood works to perpetuate and reinforce the others. The following list illustrates how these grids of specification are established in 2007 coverage of Jane-Finch.

GROUPINGS OF “PROBLEM” NEIGHBOURHOODS IN 2007 (emphasis added).

Citation	Quotation
DiManno, R. (2007, January 15). A cheeky look at the rump of Toronto; Shhh on the S-word, coupled with crime, councillors say. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A2.	“ <i>The Star</i> has an existing policy—although my policy, personally, is to always ignore <i>Star</i> policy—that requires specificity rather than generalizations. Problem with that, residents on those streets, those neighbourhoods— <i>Moss Park</i> , <i>Jane-Finch</i> , <i>St. Jamestown</i> , to name a few—gripe just as vocally about stereotyping their communities, even when bald facts on the ground make it unavoidable. They resent narrow identification.”
Moloney, P. (2007, January 16). Mayor leaps to Scarborough’s defence; Its image is hurt by crime reporting, Miller declares. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A1.	“In the past, other neighbourhoods have complained about media coverage, including <i>Parkdale</i> and <i>Jane-Finch</i> .”
Fiorito, J. (2007, February 26). Who is policing the non-cop cams out there? <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. E2.	“The use of CCTV by the police is a pilot project; a total of fifteen systems will be set up next month in three neighbourhoods: <i>Malvern</i> and one

Neighbourhoods in need. (2007, April 10). *Toronto Star*, p. B1.

Monsebraaten, L. (2007, April 11). It took children to raise a village; How a kids' cricket game brought life and a community to an underused recreation centre. *Toronto Star*, p. B7.

James, R. (2007, June 2). Lee-Chin: A gift of the possible. *Toronto Star*, p. A8.

Summer haven plans confirmed. (2007, June 7). *Toronto Star*, p. A6.

DiManno, R. (2007, June 11). What's on the street starts at home. *Toronto Star*, p. A2.

Girard, D. (2007, July 3). 108 Toronto schools open for summer; Queen's Park spending \$4M on range of programs to keep kids in 'priority neighbourhoods' busy, safe. *Toronto Star*, p. A9.

Goddard, J. (2007, July 9). Helping kids in the 'hoods; Program hires teenagers to work with children and keep 108 schools open all summer in troubled areas. *Toronto Star*, p. A12.

Gillespie, K. (2007, August 27). Training for teens builds healthier communities. *Toronto Star*, p. A8.

It's time for suburbs to speak up. (2007,

other part of *Scarborough*, *Jane-Finch*, and the Entertainment District."

This entire article is a comparison of "neighbourhoods in need" with subheadings of 13 communities, of which "Jane-Finch" is the second.

"The Scarborough Village project provided an early road map for four other Action for Neighbourhood Change sites in the city. They got off the ground last summer, each with \$500,000 in United Way funding. They include *Eglinton East-Kennedy Park*, *Weston-Mount Dennis*, *Lawrence Heights* and *Steeles-L'Amoureux*... Four more—in *Westminster-Branson*, *Dorset Park*, *Flemingdon Park-Victoria Village* and *Jane-Finch*—were announced earlier this year. And initiatives will begin early next year in the remaining four priority neighbourhoods of *Kingston-Galloway*, *Malvern*, *Jamestown* and *Crescent Town*."

Is it better to spend \$30 million on a specific project (say in *Jane-Finch* or *Rexdale*) or is it better to inspire people, to give them confidence?

"More than 150 Toronto public and Catholic schools in neighbourhoods like *Lawrence Heights*, *Malvern* and *Jane-Finch*, where Jordan Manners, 15, was killed last month, are expected to benefit from the plan, first reported in the *Toronto Star* yesterday."

"The people who commit violence in *Jane-Finch* or in *Rexdale* or *Scarborough* or *Brampton* or *Mississauga*, they come in from those neighbourhoods and they bring their weapons and propensity for violence down into this neighbourhood," Blair said, as a backfiring car's pop-pop caused reporters to swing their heads."

"Queen's Park is spending \$4 million to open schools in areas such as *Lawrence Heights*, *Malvern*, *Flemingdon Park* and *Jane-Finch*, where Jordan Manners, 15, was shot dead in his school in May."

"The funding is allowing 108 schools in low-income areas such as *Lawrence Heights*, *Malvern*, *Flemingdon Park* and *Jane-Finch* to remain open all summer so that 161 community organizations can offer activities designed to keep kids busy and safe."

"He's one of 210 students from areas like *Lawrence Heights*, *Malvern* and *Jane-Finch* who were given free sports leadership training so they could become lifeguards, soccer coaches and camp leaders."

"Yesterday's front-page story is a wake-up call

September 19). *Toronto Star*, p. A6.

Monsebraaten, L. & Daly, R. (2007, November 1). Access to services vital; Neighbourhood study finds disease prevalent in low-income areas away from city core. *Toronto Star*, p. A1.

Hume, C. (2007, November 1). Regent Park redesign sign of lessons learned. *Toronto Star*, p. A11.

for the GTA. A few decades ago, a report called *Suburbs in Transition* documented grave social services concerns in the inner suburbs—*Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough*. Metro government acted, but many of those areas are still hurting, *Jane-Finch, Malvern, Rexdale* among them.”

“For example, *Malvern*, in the city’s northeast end, and *Jane-Finch*, in the northwest, had almost double the rates of similar low-income immigrant communities in *Parkdale, Moss Park* and *St. James Town*.”

“But already it’s clear that the big issue in the decades ahead will be the remediation not just of 1950s and ’60s suburbs such as *Rexdale, Flemingdon Park, Malvern* and *Jane-Finch*, but also the sprawling subdivisions of regions beyond.”

Virtually all of these neighbourhoods have a higher population of visibly minorities than the rest of Toronto. Jane-Finch’s population is between 60-75% visible minorities (Friesen, 2007), while Regent Park and Malvern’s populations are more than 80% visible minorities (Pathways to Education; Monsebraaten & Daly, 2007b). These neighbourhoods are specified as “problem” areas or “at-risk” neighbourhoods. But this discourse has evidently become a euphemism for “visible-minority.” Following Canada’s traditional myth of tolerance and its practice of multiculturalism, race is replaced by sweeter sounding words. As Kozol (2005) writes:

There is, indeed, a seemingly agreed-upon convention in much of the media today not even to use an accurate descriptor like “racial segregation”... Schools in which as few as 3 or 4 percent of students may be white or Southeast Asian or of Middle Eastern origin, for instance-and where *every other child* in the building is black or Hispanic are referred to as “diverse.” Visitors to schools like these discover quickly the eviscerated meaning of the word, which is no longer a proper adjective but a euphemism for a plainer word that has apparently become unspeakable (p. 43).

Though Kozol is speaking of American schools, which are more widely acknowledged to partake in racist practices (Flaras & Elliott, 2007; Nelson & Nelson, 2004; Porter, 1965; Tepper, 1988), Canadian schools such as C. W. Jeffreys are stripped of race in many media depictions. This absence ignores a stark correlation between low-income communities and high visible minority populations. The trend of authoritative knowledge sources in newspaper stories is to negate race as an issue (see chart below). By contrast, race frequently emerges as a concern from subjugated sources (see the chart that follows).

AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES ON RACE IN 2007 JANE-FINCH COVERAGE

Citation	Quotation
DiManno, R. (2007, January 15). A cheeky look at the rump of Toronto; Shhh on the S-word, coupled with crime, councillors say. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A2.	In this story, Scarborough Councillor Thompson is portrayed as an immigrant who has assimilated into society and therefore proves that Canada is tolerant and supportive of all races: <i>Thompson has lived in Scarborough since arriving here from Jamaica...he's also the same politician who made a reputation as crime crusader...</i>
Kalinowski, T. (2007, March 5). 'Zero tolerance' gets failing grade; Safe Schools Act pushes kids into crime, group says; minister vows changes this spring. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. D4.	Lawyer Lora Patton seems to put class before race, thereby ignoring the race question for a more colour-blind class question: <i>Said Lora Patton, a lawyer with the Community and Legal Aid Services Program at Osgoode Hall: "There's no question in my mind (the Safe Schools Act) is discriminatory. A lot of it is class as much as race..." "The way it's applied in schools from poorer areas, what we see is, kids who are part of a group of friends are seen as gangs," she said.</i>
Offman, C. (2007, June 2). The father factor; The death of Jordan Manners raises questions among family-values proponents. <i>National Post</i> , p. A21.	Toronto Mayor David Miller rejects race as a factor in Jane-Finch's marginalization: <i>When interviewed by AM640 morning man John Oakley about fatherless children, Mr. Miller tried to take the race card off the table by explaining that he himself didn't grow up with a father.</i>
James, R. (2007, June 2). Lee-Chin: A gift of the possible. <i>Toronto Star</i> , p. A8.	James profiles millionaire Michael Lee-Chin as a success of Canadian multiculturalism in and of himself: <i>He's Jamaican, he's black, he's Chinese, he's Canadian—probably in that order—and he embraces them all.</i>

Appleby, T. (2007, November 5). Homicide toll hits 73 after apparent shooting; Two victims found within minutes of one another near Jane-Finch. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A11.

Finally, when race is acknowledged, it tends to be within crime discourses that “objectively” detail the descriptions of wanted men as in this November story following a shooting. Skin colour is rendered as a “fact” and supports the police viewpoint that any possible racial profiling is justified:

*The four men seen on the tape are described as: A **black male** in his late teens, wearing a khaki-coloured jacket and light-coloured blue jeans; A **black male** in his early- to mid-20s, wearing a **black**, hooded jacket with logos on the left and right chest. He also wore a **black** baseball cap, blue jeans and **dark-coloured** shoes; A **black male** in his early 20s, wearing a **dark** jacket with a white-lined hood and a **dark** baseball cap; A **black male** in his late teens, wearing a camouflage-style jacket with a skull on the front of the chest, a matching baseball cap, **black** pants and **black** shoes (bold added).*

SUBJUGATED SOURCES ON RACE IN 2007 JANE-FINCH COVERAGE

Citation

Infantry, A. (2007, January 11). Teaching them all that jazz; Internationally renowned jazz pianist Barry Harris brings his music to an unlikely group of Toronto kids. *Toronto Star*, p. G4.

Blatchford, C. (2007, May 25). A grieving mother's plea: 'Turn yourself in.' *The Globe and Mail*, p. A1.

Offman, C. (2007, June 2). The father factor; The death of Jordan Manners raises questions among family-values proponents. *National Post*, p. A21.

Quotation

Pianist and educator Howard Rees observes that the majority of music school students are affluent white and Asian children, indicated inequality within Canada's multicultural mosaic: *Rees comments on Harris's sympathetic approach with the disruptive group—most of whom are black and have not been exposed to formal music programs—in contrast to his tough love stance with the more talented, and more affluent, mainly Asian and white arts-high-school set.*

A friend of Jordan Manners (who is dismissed by Blatchford and DiManno as noted above) comments on racism in the police ranks: *[W]here “white kids might talk” to the police, black ones wouldn't, because “they're used to you [the police] harassing them, see what I'm saying? Cut down on the harassment.”*

Brian saw racism as “a very big part” of the story: “Black kid gets shot, it's just black kid gets shot. Coupla news stories. White girl goes missing and it's all over the news for weeks.”

This *National Post* article, which seems to propose that non-traditional families are one of the root causes of violence in communities like Jane-Finch, touches on race in the following examples:

A 2004 Canadian Social Trends study found that

black children are more likely to live in one-parent families than other children (46% versus 18%).

It also said that black children were more likely than other children to be living in low-income households by more than a two-to-one ratio...

"We all could have lost a parent," says Carol Tator, the coauthor of Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press, "but that doesn't make us deviant."

James, R. (2007, June 13). Tory has tough questions on crime, poverty. *The Toronto Star*, p. A6.

Rowe, a woman with four children, comments on the difference between white and black lived realities (it is unclear, however, if she is referring to black and white people in the same community, or on a more general level): *Rowe says the sound of gunshots is so routine now, it doesn't scare her. "All the white people are running up and down, but the black people are not, because it's part of a norm. It's something being accepted in our community that should not be tolerated."*

Friesen, J. (2007, June 16). Where boundary issues turn deadly; With the map redrawn by gangs, Joe Friesen writes, access to vital youth programs is blocked for those who need them most. *The Globe and Mail*, pp. A16-A17.

School Trustee Stephnie Payne brings up the racial inequality in Jane-Finch. As mentioned before, she is both an authority as a Trustee and a subjugated knowledge source as a black mother in Jane-Finch: *When you compare Jane and Finch with some of the city's other 13 priority neighbourhoods, she said, "yes, kids do die around here but let's look at the issue: Kids dying around here are young, black and male. They're primarily from single-parent households, led primarily by women who may have menial jobs or who rely on the state for survival. They live in apartment buildings, high-rises with other siblings. So when you look at those issues – poverty, marginalization, race and gender it creates elements of antisocial behaviour."*

Bound by blood, guns and tragedy. (2007, June 16). *The Toronto Star*, p. A2.

A relative of men arrested in June police raids points out what police and other authority figures have seemed to ignore: *A man, believed to be their father, was livid with reporters at the Finch St. courthouse Wednesday, condemning the arrests as racially motivated and a police persecution of the Jane-Finch community. "Everybody in there is black!" he yelled of the defendants in courtroom 206.*

The journalist(s), however, quickly contextualizes this statement into a more politically correct assessment: *Yes, they were. Or at least, non-white—although the colour of one's skin has no intrinsic bearing on crime and predisposition to it, the triggers for maladjusted behaviour a toxic sludge of social, economic and cultural factors, disproportionately borne by blacks.*

Goddard, J. (2007, December 15). He 'broke the stereotype' on Jane-Finch; Teenager who lost his battle with colon cancer wanted to show another side of neighbourhood. *The Toronto Star*, p. A6.

A mentor of Barry Alwyn, who died of cancer in December, encouraged the boy to break racial stereotypes (implicitly acknowledging the preponderance of them in "tolerant" Canadian society): "*I told him, 'You could really educate people on so many levels, not only about your illness but also about racial stereotypes, community stereotypes,'"* Blackwood recalled. "*He was such an articulate young man. He totally drew you in when he spoke.*"

The disconnect between the ideal of a harmonious multiculturalism in Canada and the lived experiences articulated by residents of Jane-Finch speaks volumes. Although residents' comments are mediated by the journalists who pick and choose which comments to include and cut out, it would seem that these are the only places in which mention of race is permitted. The non-authoritative sources are primarily the ones able to express concern about race and racism. In effect, they are positioned as the counterargument to Canada's multicultural success story and are often contradicted by more "knowledgeable" sources within each story. Flaras and Elliott (2007) write that "Canadians like to see themselves as a predominantly 'raceless' society that disdains the evils of prejudice, discrimination and racism" (p. 116). This is not necessarily the case in everyday practice. Canada is more successful than many nations regarding integration and acceptance. But upon further inspection, racialized groups remain "stratified unequally against a 'mosaic' of raised (dominant) and lowered (subordinate) tiles" (Flaras & Elliott, 2007, p. 117; see also Porter, 1965; Tepper, 1988). As Nelson and Nelson (2004) write "the language of race is carefully policed in Canada" (p. 21). This is exemplified by the way many authoritative knowledge sources in popular newspapers negate racial differences, ignoring the fact that considerably more visible minorities face

social, cultural and economic obstacles than white Canadians (Fleras & Elliott, 2007; Li, 1999; Nelson & Nelson, 2004).

Canadian newspapers also distinguish Jane-Finch from mainstream society by presenting maps of the problem neighbourhood that depict crimes or gang activity. These depictions use visual signs and symbols to show where the neighbourhood is located in Toronto, but, as Foucault (2006) might say, they do “more than use these signs to designate things” (p. 54). Maps aggressively position sections of Toronto as deviant, further stigmatizing the areas they depict. As Flaras and Elliott (2007) write “the devaluations and put downs associated with low social status, dominance hierarchies, and dysfunctional communities can [have]...devastating impacts on society, ranging from people’s health and life expectancies to the erosion of social trust” (p. 117). The mapping of “problem” spaces—in effect, the enclosing of such communities—does just this.

After Manners’ shooting, *The Globe and Mail* published a map specifying where the high school was located in Toronto and writing that “[it] is only blocks away from North York’s Jane-Finch intersection, which has long had a high rate of violent crime” (p. A14). The *National Post* and the *Toronto Star* published similar maps on pages A12 and A20, respectively. While these visuals may seem neutral, merely indicating where the school shooting occurred, many geographers argue that maps—of any nature—represent a discourse that is neither objective nor innocent (Cameron, 2006; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Harley, 1992; Murdoch, 2006; Pickles, 1992, 2005). Since maps are visual statements, they must “be brought within the compass of social criticism and assessed from the perspective of social theory” argues Pickles (1992, p. 194). Harley (1992) writes that maps illustrate distinctions of “class, gender, race, ideology, power and

knowledge [as well as] myth and ritual” (p. 232.). On May 24, every major newspaper published a map of Jane-Finch. This act may have seemed innocent. The distinctions Harley mentions, however, become apparent when turning to other coverage of Jane-Finch throughout the year. I am yet to find a single map of the neighbourhood accompanying a positive news story. The fact that maps are deployed *only* after shootings or violent crimes, particularly in low-income, racialized neighbourhoods, illustrates a privileging of class, race and place. It also allows the predominantly white, middle-class, neighbourhoods in Toronto to remain normalized and invisible. As in Orientalism, the dominant group is able to maintain a power disequilibrium by scrutinizing and calling attention to the darker, stranger areas on the map. Said (2003) writes that “all the latent and unchanging characteristics of the Orient stood upon, were rooted in, its geography” (p. 216).⁶⁴

This trend of mapping Jane-Finch is not new. In 2003, the *Toronto Star* published a map of Jane-Finch with the article “For better and worse, Jane-Finch like no other neighbourhood” (Mascoll, 2003). The *National Post* printed a map entitled “Gang Turf War Zone” in 2005, depicting the location of three shootings (p. A8). The title of the article was the preposterous “Jane & Finch residents tired of dodging bullets” (D’Andrea & Kohler, 2005, p. A8). In 2005, the *Toronto Star* also published two more maps, one in April entitled “Good signs for Jane-Finch” (Powell, 2005, p. B3) and one in August entitled “Shooting task force” (Huffman, 2005, p. A1).

⁶⁴ Said also points out that Marlow in *Heart of Darkness*, the quintessential colonialist in literature, confesses to having a passion for maps.

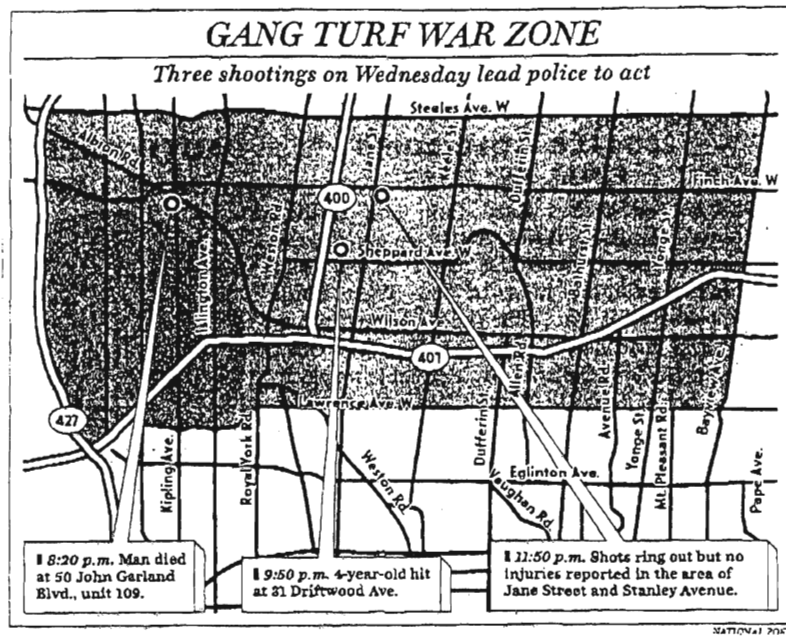


Figure 4.12. Map of Jane-Finch's "Gang turf war zone" (*National Post*, 2005).

In August of 2007, the *Toronto Star* published a map that depicts schools "moving the trouble around" by transferring disruptive students from one school district to another (Marlow, 2007b, p. A6). The map divides Jane-Finch by school zones, representing C. W. Jeffreys in the northwest section. Here, the line distinguishing the north-west zone is much thicker and darker than the others, seemingly encroaching on the other districts. The northwest is the zone to transfer the most students, 208, in 2007 (Marlow, 2007b). In this map, one finds a clear example of what Pickles (1992) refers to as a "propaganda map," whereby "the cartographer deliberately selects information to support his or her argument, and seeks to produce a map that has visual impact" (p. 195). The north-west zone is the only area in which schools are identified—Westview, Jeffreys and Emery, which appear much like enemy positions in a war map. *The Globe and Mail* takes this war imagery even further in the map that accompanies "Youth of Chalkfarm caught in violent tide" (El Akkad, 2007b, p. A10). In it, four apartment buildings are

emphasised in graphics that look eerily like tanks. These are also described as “clusters,” evoking war imagery once again. Each building is accompanied by annotations describing violent crimes that have occurred throughout the 1990s and 2000s. The headline “Troubled Street” is followed by a brief caption saying that “Violence has blighted the area where high rise apartment buildings are clustered at four addresses on Chalkfarm Drive” (El Akkad, 2007a, p. A10).

Like photography, maps are more often considered objective reflections of reality than subjective interpretations of the world. This makes them all the more dangerous. Pickles (1992) writes that maps are frequently used to “express some sense of national identity” (p. 201). I argue that these maps instil a strong sense of Canadian—and more specifically, Torontonion—identity by effectively cutting out the “troubled” areas of the region and separating them from the ostensibly normal, unseen sectors that represent a more idyllic vision of the region. Newspapers depict Jane-Finch frequently in maps to highlight its criminality and symbolically remove it from the centre. But, as in Barthes’ (1972) mythology, the newspapers always have an alibi. If confronted, journalists can argue that they are simply specifying where events took place. It is easy to deny that more is going on. This alibi, however, hides the power that is exercised through such cartography. Harley (1992) writes that the map “facilitates surveillance and control” (p. 244). He goes so far as to argue “cartographers manufacture power” by creating “a spatial panopticon” (Harley, 1992, p. 244). One sees in these examples how the choice of facts, information, visual representation, and text repeatedly draws attention to, monitors, and judges these peripheral spaces.

4.3.2 Situating “Canada’s Toughest Neighbourhood”

This study has so far taken a more Foucauldian perspective, examining broad elements over and above individual articles. In this section, I adopt a more Barthesian perspective, scrutinizing a particular text to illustrate how broad conceptual myths are reinforced on a daily basis in popular Canadian newspapers through a process analogous to Said’s (2003) *Orientalism*. To examine how Jane-Finch is interpolated into grids of specification and positioned within discourses of crime, economics, education and family values, I now undertake a close reading of an article from 2007.

“Where boundary issues turn deadly” was published in June shortly after Manners’ death (Friesen, 2007). The article is not about Manners’ killing but about the place in which he was killed. Friesen spent months in Jane-Finch in 2006 after the so-called “summer of the gun” (Richardson, 2007). He wrote a total of 16 stories from April to July. In this article, he returns to the neighbourhood in the wake of Manners’ killing. The event, as Friesen (2007) points out, is “remarkable only because [the shooting] happened at school” (p. A16). What the author does, however, is remarkable for another reason. Friesen attempts to (re)map the area as it pertains to gangs. In effect, he does explicitly what many articles have done and continue to do implicitly, which is render the area understandable to outsiders as a criminal space in which residents need to be explained by an authority figure who enters the area and renders it explicable. Said (2003) writes that *Orientalism* “formed a simulacrum of the Orient and reproduced it materially in the West, for the West” (p. 166). I argue here that Friesen (2007) enters the neighbourhood and (re)produces a simulacrum of Jane-Finch in a popular newspaper for the mainstream centre.

As early as the title, a place is mentioned where things are “deadly” (Friesen, 2007, p. A16). Under a photograph of a shadowy, hooded black man in front of a chain link fence with Palisades in the distance, *The Globe and Mail* proclaims that Jane-Finch is “a place where guns are abundant and gang turf determines who can go where” (“Where the gangs rule,” p. A1). In short, it is “Canada’s toughest Neighbourhood” (p. A1). This hyperbolic designation is repeated on pages 16 and 17 (Friesen, 2007). Thus, while the headline constructs a seemingly-dangerous space, the front page and subsequent mentions of “Canada’s toughest neighbourhood” leave little doubt about the peril Jane-Finch presents.



Figure 4.13. Detail from *The Globe and Mail* (2007).

The story is in “Canada’s national newspaper,” *The Globe and Mail*, and so one can assume this is an important issue for Canadians. Seemingly, the problem is that Canadian cities, as citizens are often told by newspapers, are falling into violence and degradation. And so the first myth signified before a single word need be read is the

problem of urban decay. This is a familiar problem and needs little explanation as each year many similar stories further this myth as a natural occurrence in urban areas.⁶⁵

How Friesen presents himself in the article is telling. Near the beginning, he states “last year, I spent three months writing about Toronto’s Jane-Finch neighbourhood...after Jordan’s shooting death, I returned” (Friesen, 2007, p. A16). In this paragraph, he goes on to establish an expertise, ostensibly proving why *he* should write this story. Unlike many journalists, Friesen uses the first-person pronoun. He also refers to the victim as “Jordan” instead of following the common journalistic practice of referring to the subject by his last name. This technique illustrates that Friesen is well-established in the area. Friesen posits himself in the same way Said (2003) writes that Orientalists relied on the idea of “expertise” to be able to make claims to truth about the places they studied. Said (2003) describes these experts as translators of a “barely intelligible civilization” who “sympathetically portray” and “inwardly grasp” the place and its people (p. 222). These experts, aside from building a body of Orientalist knowledge, frequently advised on government policy. It is interesting to note that at least two recent reports, one from the City of Toronto (Armstrong, Hough, & Zade, 2005) and one from the United Way of Greater Toronto (2006), rely in part on stories written by Friesen during this time. This demonstrates that such articles, regardless of intention, are used to justify political decisions involving Jane-Finch much like Orientalists’ expert opinions were used to justify political decisions regarding the Orient.

⁶⁵ Though little has been written on this myth in a Canadian context, Dreier’s (2005) article “How the Media Compound Urban Problems” presents a valuable exploration of this media obsession with urban decay and how the issue is often constructed as a race and class problem in an American context.

After establishing his expertise, Friesen (2007) presents his findings and implicit recommendations. These are summarized in the subheading of the article: “With the map redrawn by gangs...access to vital youth programs is blocked for those who need them most” (Friesen, 2007, p. A16). To begin, the problem of “deadly” streets is established. The finding is that the solution is already in place—“vital youth programs” already exist, according to the article (Friesen, 2007, p. A16). The problem is that “gangs” have redrawn the map and that access is “blocked” by the very group of people who need to attend these programs (*ibid*). Friesen seems to argue that this is not the fault of anyone outside Jane-Finch. Instead, it is due to a “self-imposed segregation” (*ibid*). In a way, the problem is solved, at least for the casual reader. Jane-Finch is “deadly.” But there are programs in place. The problem is these programs are not being attended by the people who need them most. And this is a problem self-imposed by native Jane-Finch residents, who are unwilling to work within the structures of the programs. This finding, however, relies on three myths that are alluded to within the story.

The first myth is of the savage foreigner. Jane-Finch is presented as a foreign place, full of foreign citizens, de-emphasizing the “Canadian” aspect of the problem and focusing on its Otherness. Said (2003) claims that Orientalists never wrote with the intention of being read by the Oriental subject. In this article, Jane-Finch residents are clearly not the intended readers. Instead, they are positioned as the Other whom mainstream Canadians are reading about. Friesen (2007) writes that the south side of Finch Avenue “might as well be in another country” (p. A16). To be fair, he writes this referring to people on the north side who are allegedly part of a different gang. Still, the phrase illuminates an underlying assumption in Friesen’s article. In explaining “how the

'hood came to be," Friesen (2007) makes reference to "Somalians," "recent immigrants from the Caribbean," "Sierra Leone," "Ghana" and refers to experimentation in urban planning that led to the "opening up of Canada's immigration policy to non-whites" (pp. A16-A17). When referring to these immigrants, the myth of the uncivilized Other is on the cusp of many sentences. Friesen describes a ritual of placing coins on gravestones, depicting the event as if it took place in some distant African land. He writes "[they] fussed over the flowers, trying to make them stand upright in the dry, cracked earth" (Friesen, 2007, p. A16). This choice of detail evokes a sense of desolation in stark contrast to the common myth of Canada's rich natural landscapes and calls to mind images of parched earth and famine-devastated African villages that North Americans are often exposed to through the media (Lister and Wells, 2001). In writing of the casual manner in which two boys "just met on the plane from Sierra Leone," Friesen (2007) draws attention to un-Canadian identities and seems to imply that there are few individual differences between the boys since they are both African (p. A16).⁶⁶ Thus, the article frequently conjures images of the savage Other; someone who lacks the knowledge and manners to be a proper Canadian and therefore must be taught.

The second myth, predicated upon the first, is that of the broken family. Friesen (2007) quotes a boy as saying "he's not my real cousin anyway" (p. A17). Shortly afterward, the journalist describes a girl who arrives at a basketball game with "[a] woman in her 40s" who may or may not be the girl's mother (Friesen, 2007, p. A17). The

⁶⁶ There is a popular joke about foreigners' ignorance of Canada: An American hears that Bob is from Canada. Because the American underestimates the size and population of Canada he quickly asks Bob "So you're Canadian. Do you know Sally in Canada?" This is ridiculous of course. The chances of knowing someone in a country of more than 30 million people is incredibly low. Despite being aware of the misconceptions of Canada, many Canadians seem to overlook the individual differences of people in other countries, assuming an unrealistic coherence. This myth surfaces very subtly in Friesen's description.

older woman accuses a boy of “abandoning the pregnant mother of his child,” to which the boy reacts sceptically (Friesen, 2007, p. A17). Not only does this contrast traditional family values with residents of Jane-Finch, it also alludes to the threat of promiscuity and lax sexual behaviour of the Other. The logical expansion of this idea is the threat of miscegenation. If the young, black male is presented as a sexual predator, which is a trope explored extensively by such authors as Dyson (1993), Jones (1993), Wiegman (1993) and Dines (2003), then the threat of pregnancy, particularly for non-black girls, seems to be an obvious second-order signified. Finally, when referring to a boy named “Ice” who refuses to sell drugs, Friesen (2007) writes, “unlike most of his friends, Ice lives with both of his parents” (p. A17). In this sentence, Friesen seems to attribute the boy’s higher moral stance to his position within a nuclear family. As Muzzatti and Featherstone (2007) write, “while reporters do not make up facts, they do select facts” (p. 44). It is precisely the “facts” Friesen chooses relating to the families of these young men that bathe the story in a heavily-constructed myth. With these choices of details, the article builds upon the myth of the broken family and wanton sexuality of the Other as a main factor in this problem of urban decay.

The last myth is the American inner-city gang. As Friesen (2007) points out early in the article, most northern Jane-Finch residents “consider themselves Bloods, an identity borrowed from the gang wars of Los Angeles” (p. A16). With this description, Canadian readers are instantly made to picture gun-crazed Los Angeles gang members with red and blue bandanas riding through Jane Street or Finch Avenue West. The entire Blood-Crip war was made into a sensationalized media story throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, receiving attention from major news stations and even MTV (Bing,

1989; 1991; Johnson, 2003). In a 1989 *Harper's* article, Bing writes of the mediated Blood-Crip war, saying that "it would be hard to write a morality play more likely to strike terror into the hearts of the middle-class" (p. 51). Furthermore, the photograph on page A17 depicts a young man in an oversized 2Pac T-shirt, thereby anchoring such imagery (Friesen, 2007). By referring to this already-sensational media construct, stereotypical images of infamous hip-hop icons linked to gang wars such as 2pac, Suge Knight and Snoop Dogg, to name just a few, are all instantly alluded to within this article. Friesen does not need to mention these figures to conjure their mythologies. Moral panics such as drive-by shootings, muggings and car-jackings were all major discourses of the media in regard to gangs during that period (Bing, 1989, 1991; Johnson, 2003; Schatzberg & Kelly, 1997). These references to gangs exemplify the kind of dialectic reinforcement Said (2003) speaks of when he mentions how "the experiences of readers in reality are determined by what they have read, and this in turn influences writers to take up subjects defined in advance by readers' experiences" (p. 94). Friesen sees what he has already read about and by writing these observations for the newspaper, he influences what others will see. Though there may indeed be gang activity in Jane-Finch, the myriad popular culture connotations associated with Bloods and Crips stack myth upon reality in this case.

These myth-based constructs are cemented with the map on page A16 (Friesen, 2007). A satellite image of Jane-Finch appears with indications of each gang's territory. In essence, *The Globe and Mail* submits visual proof that these gangs, based on constructs emanating from U.S. inner-cities, have overtaken a section of Toronto. This visual myth is successful because of its ability to hide the constructed nature of the

image. The ability to capture images from satellites and re-present them hides the fact that the image is nevertheless a construction just as a drawing or a written description would be. As Kuhn (1985) writes, “photographs are coded, but usually so as to appear uncoded” (p. 27). Most important in this instance is that *The Globe and Mail* takes the mythology of the Bloods and Crips and gives it an empirical value by literally mapping the area and defining where it exists. In superimposing this map on the city, the newspaper negates any non-gang residents in these areas. The individual resident is placed under erasure, leaving the reader with an almost-monolithic group of criminals occupying this space.

“Where boundary issues turn deadly,” as an example of the dominant news media’s practice, renders Jane-Finch a criminal space. Many myths such as the uncivilized Other, the sanctity of the nuclear family and the gang wars of the early 1990s are used to explain this “fact.” And with this explanation of a seemingly-chaotic situation, the space is simultaneously produced and subordinated much like the Orient is produced and subordinated by the Orientalist through biased descriptions, expert explanations, and the reproduction of socially-constructed ways of knowing.

4.4 Conclusion

The emergence of Jane-Finch (as one knows it today) developed alongside the massive influx of new immigrants settling in the area in the late 1960s and 1970s. With this population explosion came an interest within the dominant news media, which depicted the neighbourhood first as a breeding ground for vandalism (“Jane-Finch breeds vandalism,” 1978, p. A4) and then as a violent, menacing space “where the gangs rule”

(“Where the gangs rule,” 2007, p. A1). Articles on the neighbourhood in 2007 demonstrate that diverse discourses intersect within the coverage of Jane-Finch, but virtually all of them position the area as Toronto’s Other. From January to December, journalists swooped in during episodes of violence, taking quotations, shooting photographs and assessing the landscape. Afterward, they presented their reports to readers using certain tropes and stereotypes, not always consciously or intentionally, which grounded Jane-Finch within specific shared understandings. Authoritative knowledge sources were used to officiate such “knowledges” in virtually all stories. Subjugated knowledges sources, however, surfaced occasionally through journalists’ descriptions to challenge these modes of representation. Finally, Jane-Finch was frequently mapped; placed within grids of specification—sometimes quite literally—to domesticate the community much like the Orient was filtered by the West “through regulatory codes, classifications, specimen cases, periodical reviews” (Said, 2003, p. 166). Afterward, readers were left with a specific “knowledge” of the “trouble” that existed within their own city. The surveillance of Jane-Finch by popular Canadian newspapers worked as a disciplinary measure that held the community up to measure of mainstream social and cultural values. Crimes were recorded. Events were explained. And programs were put in place. Though this study was unique to a specific year in the history of the community, my guess is that this process will repeat next year too. And the year after that.

Chapter 5: Implications for Journalists, Residents and Researchers

5.0 Introduction

As Jane-Finch developed after the Second World War, certain myths became grounded geographically and historically through dominant newspaper discourses. The emergence of Jane-Finch as an object of discourse in popular Canadian newspapers has created particular socially-constructed ideas about the space that continue to linger in the representations readers see today. Tropes and stereotypes appear as objective and undeniable “knowledges” through visual and rhetorical repetitions. Journalists and their authoritative knowledge sources have developed a vast collection of such knowledge by scrutinizing this space in particular ways. Similar to the way Said (2003) argues that the Orient was created by the West as its “deepest and most recurring image of the Other” (p. 1), the creation of Jane-Finch as a criminal space has allowed middle-class, predominantly-white Canadians to be constituted as legitimate, normal, and, as Foucault (1995) suggests, invisible. In this way, the 2007 newspaper articles are invested within power relationships that continue to produce and shape the community that one knows now as “Canada’s toughest neighbourhood.”

I hope to have demonstrated in this study that journalists, residents, and other newspaper readers are not disparate, antagonistic actors within power-knowledge formations but heterogeneous producers and receivers within this system. It is not difficult to say, as authors like Fraser (2006), Heiferson (2006), Körner and Treloar (2003), Lawrence et al. (2008), and Olstead (2002) do, that the media are getting it wrong. It is equally easy to argue, like DiManno (2007a), that residents should not complain because “bald facts on the ground make [unflattering depictions] unavoidable”

(p. A2). I think all parties can agree a problem exists. Jane-Finch continues to be represented negatively, in a way that perpetuates stereotypical notions of the space and the residents within it. I have used the ideas of discourse, mythology and Orientalism to interrogate this problem. Foucault, Barthes, and Said have provided valuable theoretical frameworks and practical analogues in this endeavour. Future work, however, must expand these concepts and explore how new theories can be used to proceed in the broader political goals I have suggested. At this point, I would like to examine the major implications of this study and the questions it raises for further research.

5.1 The Problem of Representing Jane-Finch

The media not only reflect Jane-Finch but help to create it. As Olstead (2002) writes, “how the popular media use language to represent the social world has much to do with how that world is understood” (p. 621). Knowledge is constituted through language, which is (re)productive of power. Words and images are never neutral. Dominant Canadian newspapers have to accept this responsibility. After analysing newspaper articles through the theories I have presented, one cannot deny that power is involved in depicting Jane-Finch. This power is not unidirectional. Said (2003), among others, has argued that representation and lived experience can form a dialectical relationship, one feeding off of the other. To refer to Jane-Finch as Canada’s toughest neighbourhood—whether accurate or highly exaggerated—has a real effect on the community. Property values can drop. Outsiders may avoid the neighbourhood. And those who stand to benefit

will use the area's notoriety to spread fear.⁶⁷ In short, the more one believes Jane-Finch is Canada's toughest neighbourhood, the more it will become Canada's toughest neighbourhood.

This problem is not unique to Toronto. Mercer and Julien (1994) elaborate how similar cyclical patterns have occurred in Britain, where young black men who have been stereotyped begin to act out those characteristics, furthering the stereotype and creating a vicious circle that can become extremely difficult to escape from.

The prevailing stereotype (in contemporary Britain) projects an image of black male youth as 'mugger' or 'rioter'... But this regime of representation is reproduced and maintained in hegemony because black men have had to resort to 'toughness' as a defensive response to the prior aggression and violence that characterizes the way black communities are politicked... This cycle between reality and representation makes the ideological fictions of racism empirically 'true'—or rather, there is a struggle over the definition, understanding and construction of meanings around black masculinity within the dominant regime of truth" (Mercer and Julien, 1994, pp. 137-8, as cited in Hall, 2003b, p. 262).

Representation, by definition, is not the actual object but a re-presentation of it. This presentation generally comes from a source other than that which is depicted. Like the Orientalist, journalists are almost never consciously within Jane-Finch. Instead, they are onlookers who depict it from outside. "To be a European in the Orient *always* involves being a consciousness set apart from, and unequal with, its surroundings" writes

⁶⁷ This last group can range from gang members creating tough reputations to banks and insurance companies selling security packages to concerned citizens.

Said (2003, p. 157). This concept of entering Jane-Finch and aggressively labelling it and creating “knowledge” of it is something journalists must reflect upon more closely.

This is not to say outsiders cannot write about the neighbourhood. As Said (2003) argues, “the notion that there are geographical spaces with indigenous, radically “different” inhabitants who can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture, or racial essence proper to that geographical space is...a highly debatable idea. I certainly do not believe the limited proposition that only a black can write about blacks, a Muslim about Muslims, and so forth” (p. 322). Journalists must accept the scepticism and hostility from residents, however, who ultimately suffer the effects of newspaper representations in their daily lives. Reporters can leave Jane-Finch after writing an article. Residents of the community have no such option.

To argue that reporting “facts” is innocent is not enough. Reporters need to take responsibility for the burden of representation and acknowledge that more is involved in journalism than note-taking. Journalists enter Jane-Finch to report it, represent it, and then leave it. As Anderson (1987) writes, “those with the ‘power of definition’ can, in a sense, create ‘place’ by arbitrarily regionalizing the external world” (p. 594). Though Anderson is directing this criticism toward governments, journalists play an important role in such discursive practices. “To label a person or a place as excluded (especially when they are manifestly members of that society) is an act of considerable social violence” writes Cameron (2006, p. 403). This is something journalists do repeatedly, implicitly or explicitly, to Jane-Finch residents throughout 2007.

Considering the possible violence journalists do to Jane-Finch, it is also important to note that “the media” is not some evil conspiracy. Taking events in the world and

translating them into the language of words and images often does more than reflect such events. But without these transcriptions, Canadians outside the area would be ignorant of the happenings of Jane-Finch. Many residents suffer from debilitating financial conditions, lack of social services, and the realities of violence in their daily lives. These are important issues to bring to public attention. And the mere mediation of such issues is not enough, as Young (1990a) argues, to guarantee that there will be violence, symbolic or otherwise. “That mediation is a necessary condition of alienation...does not entail the reverse implication: That only by eliminating structures of mediation do we eliminate alienation,” writes Young (1990a, pp. 314-315). Taking the coverage of Jane-Finch away does not necessarily make things better. Journalists should be held accountable for their actions but this does not mean that residents can transfer the blame for their negative conditions solely onto reporters and editors. Even within Said’s *Orientalism*, as Bhabha (1986) points out, “it is difficult to conceive...subjectification as a placing *within* Orientalist or colonial discourse for the dominated subject without the dominant being strategically placed within it too” (p. 158). Journalists are just as much constituted by power-knowledge formations within representations of Jane-Finch as residents. Reporters are not necessarily the benefactors of this relationship but subjects within—not outside—it.

Ultimately, one sees in 2007 coverage of Jane-Finch that the neighbourhood is symbolically separated from mainstream Canadian society. Jane-Finch is watched by journalists and depicted for readers to vicariously observe it as Other, thereby normalizing and legitimizing the centre (Foucault, 1995). These representations create a notion of place that is constructed in one’s imagination rather than in “reality” much like

the Orient (Said, 2003). And such notions are perpetuated through a de-historicization and mythical connection to ideas of nature and normalcy (Barthes, 1972).

The only way to challenge this process, it seems to me, is to change the representations, question the power-knowledge formations, and rehistoricize Jane-Finch as a product of history rather than nature. As Cameron (2006) aptly points out, “the way the social exclusion debate has developed places an enormous responsibility on those considered to be excluded to resolve their own problems—they have been made responsible for their own condition as a form of social ‘pathology’” (p. 397). But without intervention from Jane-Finch residents, in cooperation with others, I see no possibility of change. This, indeed, places a considerable onus on the socially-excluded. However, as Malcolm X once said, “if you give people a thorough understanding of what confronts them and the basic causes that produce it, they’ll create their own program, and when the people create a program, you get action” (as cited in Sarachild, 1978, p. 149). I therefore propose that further research must examine ways residents can challenge dominant discourses, beginning from within the community and expanding outwards.

5.2 Resisting Dominant Discourses

Murray (1995) notes in his analysis of media depictions of Cabrini-Green that the mainstream centre enacted a discourse of progress and inevitability to make claims of what should happen to the neighbourhood. In this way, plans that benefited dominant groups appeared as the natural result of a teleological movement rather than the consequence of partial decisions made by those who stood to gain from them: “The desire to ‘reclaim’ Cabrini-Green has been entered into the discourse of progress as necessary,

natural and inevitable—making the beneficiaries of such an outcome invisible, and eliminating white Chicagoans as part of the ‘problem’” (Murray, 1995, p. 316). Implicit in this critique is a method for challenging dominant discourses of neighbourhoods—residents must re-present their communities as products of historical interests, repositioning decisions regarding these spaces as *debatable* rather than teleological. This reassessment of the community reveals the social conditions (re)producing it.

Hall (2003b) writes that “if meaning could be fixed by representation, then there would be no change—and so no counter-strategies or interventions” (p. 270). Evidently this is not the case. Meaning can be altered. Positions can be challenged. “The principle feature of mythic discourse” writes Said (2003) “is that it conceals its own origins as well as those of what it describes” (p. 321). The only way to challenge such work is to reveal its origins, its perpetrators, and who stands to gain from its invocation.

As I discuss in Chapter Two, residents of marginalized communities are often unable to debate news stories because residents and journalists are usually debating different things. While journalists are traditionally concerned with “fact,” residents tend to be weary of the stereotypes and connotations these “facts” perpetuate. This difference creates a perpetual alibi, according to Barthes (1972). As Barthes demonstrates, the two are always present but never in the same place. It is therefore difficult to avoid or challenge the power of myth in rendering space.

While Foucault (1980, 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006) speaks of power as a constant tension, he gives little hint within the context of this study of how residents could challenge it in an assertive but practical manner. Said (2003) makes it clear that his examination of Orientalism was to bring the problem to readers’ attention but not to

propose an alternative. Finally, Barthes sets out the most valuable strategy for resisting the dominant news media's discourses. The best weapon against myth is to "mythify" it, argues Barthes (1972, p. 135). "Since myth robs language of something," he writes, "why not rob myth?" In effect, Barthes suggests presenting a myth that is so *obviously* a myth it cannot be ignored. This act would strip myth of its power, which is to transform history into nature. Thus, one way to counter dominant discourses is to once again render the space a product of history.

Here, I turn to an example of a place that has been particularly productive in attempting to resist media-perpetuated stigmas. Clichy-sous-Bois is a suburb of Paris, France. The neighbourhood was the site of many riots in 2005 when low-income and unemployed youth took to the streets after the death of two individuals during a police chase (Bromberger, 2006). After the *cité* became arguably the most publicized criminal space in the world, a photographer by the alias of JR collaborated with a local resident and published a book of photographs and quotations called *28 Millimètres: Portrait d'une generation* (JR & Ly, 2006). The book, which was part of a larger photography project, works as a counter-myth that challenges the dominant discourse(s) of this space in two ways. To begin, the project was created primarily by residents of Clichy-sous-Bois. It uses portrait photography to present an individuality that runs in stark contrast to the sensational group shots that were transmitted by mainstream media in 2005. It quotes the subjects and gives their names and places of birth—which are mainly in France—without attempting to contextualise the statements or situate them in an explainable narrative. Secondly, the photography project challenges the dominant view of the area by posterizing these photographs graffiti-style in districts of Paris that normally have no direct contact

with Clichy-sous-Bois (JR & Ly, 2006). In fact, one of the first places JR and his colleagues posted the large-format photographs was in Paris' east district, which was once a low-income area but has since become a place inhabited by *les bobos* [bourgeois bohemians] (JR & Ly, 2006). This project, therefore, confronted individuals who otherwise may have had little inclination to question dominant news discourses.

This guerrilla-style art exhibit captured the attention of the public, and, consequently, of the popular news media. It forced them to talk about Clichy-sous-Bois in a way that showed agency and political understanding on the part of residents. In effect, the mainstream media were required to report on the discourses that residents put forward rather than create discourses for them. This is not to say that reports did not fall back into myth and Orientalism as they had before. But any sober journalist was forced to acknowledge that it was the mediated image of *les banlieues* that *les banlieues* were rebelling against.

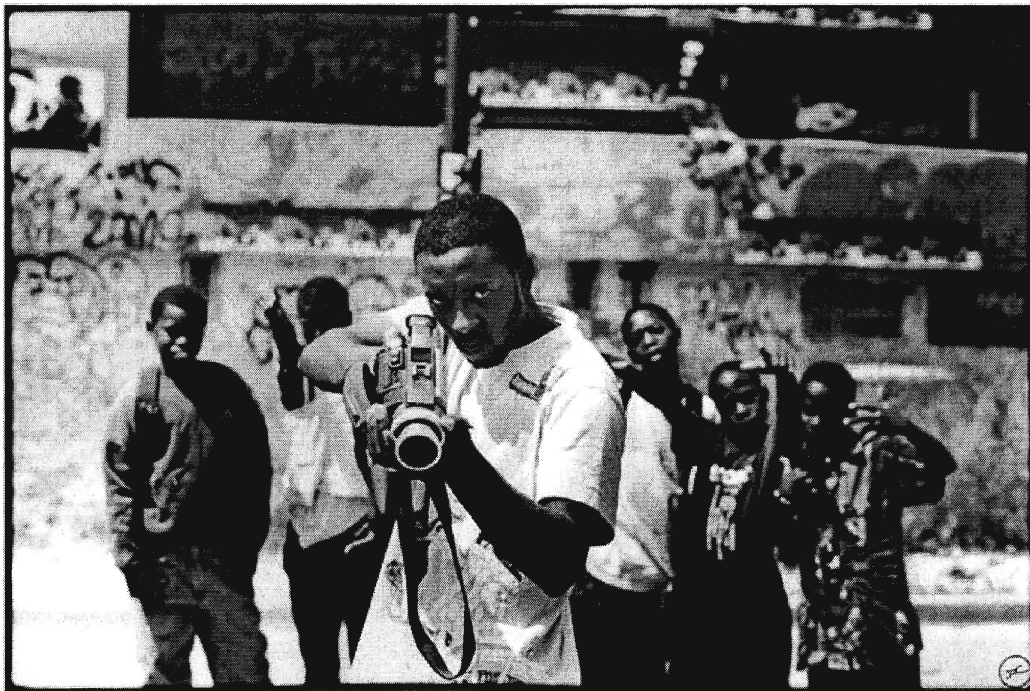


Figure 4.1. Photograph of Clichy-sous-Bois residents by JR (2006).

28 millimetres (2006) is an example, as are the 2007 newspaper articles of Jane-Finch, of the tension between dominant and subjugated discourses representing a space. All render their spaces from certain points on the socio-political spectrum. Popular newspapers, I argue, use conceptual tools like myth to understand and create the place in question. The photography project mythologizes similar myths to make visible the structure of the dominant news media. In Clichy-sous-Bois, this counter-myth was then re-presented within dominant news media; though it attracted considerably less attention than the riot coverage.

This strategy of resistance through counter-myth may allow similar communities to change the way their spaces are understood through—and by—the dominant news media. In Toronto, similar work has recently appeared in Regent Park, one of the country's largest community housing projects. In the summer of 2008, an art installation called *Living Space* was developed in connection with the Luminato art festival in Toronto (Dixon, 2008). Large portraits of community residents were posted on buildings in the neighbourhood and tours were offered during the festival. The project was led primarily by youth groups such as Regent Park Youth Arts Media Centre and Pathways to Education. The portraits performed similar tasks to the photographs in Clichy-sous-Bois, whereby the dominant image of crime and poverty prevalent in newspapers were contrasted by the empowered, human images of residents that the newspapers then described. Because the portraits were so large and engaging, it captured the attention of many Torontonians and the installations became news stories in their own rights (see DeMara, 2008; Dixon, 2008; Tucker, 2008).

Within the explanations of who and what these photographs were about, journalists inevitably acknowledged the stereotypes and myths that have plagued Regent Park in the last few decades. These installations, and the news reports that they generated, forced readers to see these stereotypes as historically-created and therefore unnatural. In a sense, this “monster art” as *The Globe and Mail* described it, mythified the myth (Dixon, 2008). It used myth as a weapon, as Barthes suggests, to confront the more pervasive, negative images the dominant news discourses imposed on the neighbourhood. Such a project demonstrates the potential for this type of work to generate change in other communities.



Figure 4.2. Article from *The Globe and Mail* on Art Project in Regent Park (Dixon, 2008).

5.3 Implications for Further Research

This study demonstrates how power-knowledge envelops seemingly-objective newspaper articles and constructs particular notions of space/place. I have attempted to demonstrate this practice so that such dominant discourses may be challenged or resisted in future work. In essence, my intention has been to develop a nuanced criticism of

newspaper representations so that more positive research—and action—can take place. In this section, I specify the areas to which I believe research should extend.

As a discursive object, the term “Jane-Finch” creates and informs the neighbourhood and one’s lived experiences in it. Just as Said (2003) denies “that there is such a thing as a real or true Orient” (p. 322), this study does not suggest that a *more real* Jane-Finch exists outside of this discourse. There is a clear difference, however, between the Jane-Finch that one walks through, absorbing the sights, sounds and smells and the depictions of that neighbourhood in popular newspapers. I have interrogated the latter but I believe more research is needed to assess how these two objects—the physical space and the mediated depiction of it—overlap and diverge. Young (1995) raises an interesting question in *White Mythologies*. He writes “to the totalizing culture the individual opposes a consciousness derived from experience: But how has that consciousness or experience been produced outside that culture if it is indeed totalizing?” (p. 137). This is an important question. Implicit in this statement is the idea that to challenge or resist dominant discourses, one must be aware of the myths and ideologies in such representations. If one *sees* myth for what it is—as “a haemorrhage...an evaporation...a perceptible absence” (Barthes, 1972, p. 143), then, by definition, it ceases to be myth. That is, for myth to work, it must transform history into nature while remaining invisible. If one were to see something actively transforming history into nature, at best, it would be a failed myth. Thus, exploring how one can negotiate this problem is an important task for further research.

I have purposely avoided examining interpretations of dominant discourses to focus on the discourses themselves. I believe it is crucial to perform a study of the

discourse before a study of its interpretations or readings can be conducted. Having now performed this analysis, it may be fruitful to extend research into this area. It is quite likely that not all newspaper readers take the same meaning from a particular article. As Barthes (1978c) argues, “the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author” (p. 148). Specifically, he writes that the world is a text and “by refusing to assign a ‘secret,’ an ultimate meaning, to the text...[one performs] an activity that is truly revolutionary” (p. 147). British cultural studies theorists like Hall (2003a), Cohen and Young (1973) and Du Gay et al. (1997) have demonstrated repeatedly that meaning and representation are linked to a complex web that involves identity, regulation, consumption and production. Readings can be straightforward, negotiated, or resistant of dominant frameworks. The difficulty is in knowing exactly how the text is interpreted by readers. This is what further researchers may wish to investigate.

In his discourse analysis of mental illness in popular Canadian newspapers, Olstead (2002) writes “despite the absence of empirical research on media reception, we can be critical of the negative and inaccurate ways in which mental illness is represented” (p. 641). This comment raises two concerns for me. The first, as I have already mentioned, is that discourse is productive of meaning, knowledge, and truth. To argue that a discourse is “inaccurate” presupposes that there is a true form of the object outside of such discourse. I adamantly disagree with such a statement. Secondly, the lack of research on audience interpretation is a valid point. The challenge for further research in this area involves conducting such investigations in a way that allows audience interpretations to be revealed without merely perpetuating the discourses they are interpreting. In Olstead’s case, I cannot see how one could empirically study a newspaper

reader's understanding of mental illness because: a) that understanding is in constant tension, being both shaped by and shaping the discursive formation of which the reader is a part; and b) that understanding would always be expressed through discourse and thus it never arrives at an object outside of discourse. Consequently, an exploration of reader interpretations poses many interesting—but theoretically problematic—possibilities for further research.

Finally, the most important research that stems from this study must be to delineate the specific goal of any resistant project. I have articulated the negative aspects of representations of Jane-Finch in popular Canadian newspapers. If one agrees that representations are constructive rather than reflective, it follows that such negative depictions can and should be challenged. But what alternative depiction of Jane-Finch can arise if dominant discourses were to be destroyed? It seems the antithesis of Jane-Finch as a poverty-stricken, criminal space is a depiction of an idealized community. In such representations, one may be tempted to unify diverse groups in Jane-Finch to form a cohesive, idyllic picture of the neighbourhood. But Jane-Finch does not comprise a unified group. Iris Young (1990a) points out that “too strong a desire for unity can lead to repressing the differences within the group or forcing some out: gays and lesbians from black nationalist groups, for example, or feminists from native American groups, and so on” (p. 312). Articulating this new identity will be tricky. Young (1990a) writes that “any definition or category creates an inside/outside distinction, and the logic of identity seeks to keep those borders firmly drawn” (p. 303).

Communities must alter or remove the traditional notion of “identity” as a definable and recognizable set of characteristics that distinguish one group from another

if the motivation is to resist dominant discourses. One must abandon the goal of unity and strive for what Young (1990a, 1990b) refers to as “a politics of difference,” whereby dissimilarity becomes the solution and not the problem. In other words, a resistant project would seek a multiculturalism or a mosaic that actually works; a diversity that is equal rather than a concealed hierarchy of races, ethnicities and localities. “This quest for the singular, the contingent event which by definition refuses all conceptualization, can clearly be related to the project of constructing a form of knowledge that respects the other without absorbing it into the same” writes Young (1995, p. 10). We clearly have not yet achieved such a form of knowledge in the dominant news media. Jane-Finch continues to be represented in the context of outsider. In *Orientalism*, Said contends that a new type of knowledge must be produced. As Young (1995) writes, Said’s project is to produce a knowledge “that can analyse plural objects as such rather than offering forms of integrated understanding that simply comprehend them within totalizing schemas” (p. 11). I believe one tool for such study may be found in the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971), from whom Said finds inspiration most clearly in his later works such as *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) and *Representations of the Intellectual* (1996).

Gramsci expounds the idea of organic intellectualism as a way of combating a social order that privileges the few and subordinates the masses through their own consent. Gramsci (1971) writes that “every social group...creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it...an awareness of its own function not only in the economical but also in the social and political fields” (p. 5). Abrams (1995) argues that the organic intellectual serves four specific functions: 1) representing an aggrieved community; 2) reflecting the needs of that community; 3)

presenting counter-hegemonic ideas that subvert the dominant system; and 4) attempting to form an historical bloc that acts as a coalition of oppositional groups united in their struggle against dominant power structures. Through the formation of such historical blocs, marginalized neighbourhoods in Canada may find strength in joining together, while maintaining a politics of difference that embraces dissimilarity rather than subjugating it. Said (1996) writes that such intellectuals must fight this battle of representation “by disputing the images, official narratives, justifications of power circulated by an increasingly powerful media” (p. 22). Though he provides no specific solution for how such intellectuals can hope to challenge the problems of representation that he details in *Orientalism*, Gregory (1995) points out that, in other essays, Said argues individuals can create “a space of representation that deploys hybrid, broken, fragmentary forms” (p. 451). More investigation into how these concepts can be conceived and coordinated at each level is needed. The idea of a hybrid and fragmented—in short, a postmodern—space may be a fruitful place to start.

Foucault (1986) seems to suggest the groundwork for such a project late in his career. “We might imagine a sort of systematic description...that would, in a given society, take as its object the study, analysis, description, and ‘reading’ ...of these different spaces, of these other places,” Foucault writes (p. 24). He describes this work as “a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live” (ibid). For this work, Foucault suggests the term “heterotopology” (i.e., the study of heterotopias⁶⁸) (ibid). He then outlines the principles for its study: 1) every culture has something that

⁶⁸ Foucault (1986) writes that “probably in ever culture, in every civilization, real places...which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted” (p. 24). These sites are heterotropias.

could constitute a heterotopia, though characteristics may vary tremendously from one place to another; 2) each heterotopia provides a specific function in society; 3) it can juxtapose several incompatible sites in a single space; 4) time (e.g., history) is a crucial aspect of its study; 5) heterotopias involve openings and closings that make them both isolated and penetrable; and 6) heterotopias work in relation to other spaces either by creating an illusory space that “exposes every real space” or by creating an Other space that is “as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled” (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). This could be a conceptual starting point for a field that would analyse and confront the power of popular Canadian newspapers, among other apparatuses, which create and perpetuate “truths” that are now ingrained in common understandings of certain spaces/places.

Ultimately, I hope that I have created a space for further contemplation about discourse, myth, and power-knowledge. This study was intended to further an understanding of the inherent power relationships embedded within popular Canadian newspapers depictions of Jane-Finch and so many other sites of struggle in our country. I have not torn down anything. But I have attempted to map the spaces, both mental and physical, that must be demolished and reconstructed. Foucault (2006) writes that “in analysing discourses themselves, one sees the loosening of the embrace, apparently so tight, of words and things” (p. 54). This is the starting point I have endeavoured to provide for a political project that is still to come.

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APPENDIX A: 2007 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES (listed chronologically)

1. Infantry, A. (2007, January 11). Teaching them all that jazz; Internationally renowned jazz pianist Barry Harris brings his music to an unlikely group of Toronto kids. *Toronto Star*, p. G4.
2. DiManno, R. (2007, January 15). A cheeky look at the rump of Toronto; Shhh on the S-word, coupled with crime, councillors say. *Toronto Star*, p. A2.
3. Moloney, P. (2007, January 16). Mayor leaps to Scarborough's defence; Its image is hurt by crime reporting, Miller declares. *Toronto Star*, p. A1.
4. Cowan, J. (2007, January 16). Scarborough 'media protocol' shot down: Crime reporting: Not up to city to tell press how to do job, Miller says. *National Post*, p. A9.
5. Considine, J. D. (2007, January 18). Jazz shines light on young talent. *The Globe and Mail*, p. R4.
6. Lacey, L. (2007, January 25). Looking for Little Miss Box Office; Critical kudos at Sundance usually don't pan out in sales, but a hit Oscar contender has the buyers getting out their chequebooks at this year's festival, LIAM LACEY writes. *The Globe and Mail*, p. R1.
7. Paramount grabs Toronto flick at Sundance. (2007, January 25). *Montreal Gazette*, p. D4.
8. Knight, C. (2007, January 26). She move so good: A T.O. Stomp the Yard Sundances into filmfest. *National Post*, p. PM7.
9. Celebrity Briefs. (2007, January 26). *The Hamilton Spectator*, p. G3.
10. Bawden, J. (2007, January 31). HOT BOX by Jim Bawden Television to talk about. *Toronto Star*, p. E3.
11. Whyte, M. (2007, February 5). Second Chance foundation fetes community leaders; Disturbing statistics presented at awards ceremony tempered by message of hope: 'Your government believes in you, too.' *Toronto Star*, p. E3.
12. Fiorito, J. (2007, February 26). Who is policing the non-cop cams out there? *Toronto Star*, p. E2.
13. Huffman, T. (2007, March 2). Sergeant Soccer; Officers' popular sports program helps at-risk kids stay clear of gangs, guns. *Toronto Star*, p. C7.
14. Kalinowski, T. (2007, March 5). 'Zero tolerance' gets failing grade; Safe Schools Act pushes kids into crime, group says; minister vows changes this spring. *Toronto Star*, p. D4.
15. El Akkad, O. (2007, March 8). The violence of Chalkfarm Drive; Stabbing of teen is latest in a series of crimes that has plagued community. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A13.
16. Lopez-Pacheco, A. (2007, March 12). Experiences as an immigrant prove a powerful tool: Career-management firm: Minto Roy aims to help people realize their dreams. *National Post*, p. EN4.
17. Keung, N. (2007, March 12). Parents tune in to HIPPY; Program helps low-income immigrant parents to become the first teachers for their children as they enter school. *Toronto Star*, p. D1.
18. El Akkad, O. (2007, March 13). Youth of Chalkfarm caught in violent tide; Recent stabbings latest flashpoints at crime-plagued apartment complex. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A10.
19. Brown, L. (2007, March 27). Schools suspend fewer students; Toronto board's rate down 29% as principals work to stop problems before they start. *Toronto Star*, p. E1.

20. Kalinowski, T. (2007, April 1). Jane-Finch job-training program faces eviction; Community group seeks help in giving factory a kick-start. *Toronto Star*, p. A3.
21. Gandhi, U. (2007, April 3). Man, 20, pronounced dead after Jane-Finch shooting. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A8.
22. Powell, B. (2007, April 4). Young man stabbed to death near home; Friend believes killers of 'fun-loving guy' in Jane-Finch area had wrong person. *Toronto Star*, p. C3.
23. Grewal, S. (2007, April 6). Funding cut for Jane-Finch centre; Decision comes days after member stabbed to death. *Toronto Star*, p. B2.
24. Neighbourhoods in need. (2007, April 10). *Toronto Star*, p. B1.
25. Stancu, H. (2007, April 10). Body of man found at plaza. *Toronto Star*, p. B6.
26. Monsebraaten, L. & Vincent, D. (2007, April 11). Residents seeking role in urban turnaround; Encouraging the people who live in underserved 'priority neighbourhoods' to come up with solutions to their problems is the first step to improving their prospects, forum is told. *Toronto Star*, p. B1.
27. Monsebraaten, L. (2007, April 11). It took children to raise a village; How a kids' cricket game brought life and a community to an underused recreation centre. *Toronto Star*, p. B7.
28. Program: The Spot-Where You(th) Wanna Be. (2007, April 12). *Toronto Star*, p. R10.
29. Centre quickly became a hub. (2007, April 12). *Toronto Star*, p. R10.
30. Searching for the silver bullet. (2007, April 14). *Toronto Star*, p. F6.
31. Ferenc, L. (2007, April 24). A dance studio, moms' magazine and 24 other chances; New round of Youth Challenge funding gives life to projects in priority areas. *Toronto Star*, p. B4.
32. Two. (2007, April 29). *Toronto Star*, p. C3.
33. Appleby, T. (2007, May 2). Man caught on camera charged with murder; Widely broadcast images from surveillance video lead to arrest in slaying of 33-year-old homeless woman. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A17.
34. Grewal, S. (2007, May 7). Jumpstarting young go-getters; Program provides funds and training for youthful entrepreneurs to start business. *Toronto Star*, p. C3.
35. Small, P. (2007, May 8). Victim telling truth about man who killed 3-year-old, jury told. *Toronto Star*, p. B5.
36. Small, P. (2007, May 11). Innocent man freed after 6 years in prison. *Toronto Star*, p. B6.
37. Gordon, A. (2007, May 14). Successful solo act opens new eyes; They're gaining ground but single mothers still battle prejudice, poverty. *Toronto Star*, p. B1.
38. Alphonso, C., Appleby, T. & Gandhi, U. (2007, May 24). Teen shot dead in Toronto school; Fight outside North York high school spilled over as gunman followed Grade 9 student up to second floor. *The Globe and Mail*, pp. A1, A14.
39. Alphonso, C., Appleby, T. & Gandhi, U. (2007, May 24). Teen shot dead in Toronto school; Fight outside North York high school spilled over as gunman followed Grade 9 student up to second floor. *The Globe and Mail*, pp. A1, A14. (Updated).
40. Gandhi, U. (2007, May 24). Baseball caps hide tear-stained cheeks. *The Globe and Mail*, pp. A1, A14.

41. *Leong, M. & Coutts, M. (2007, May 24). Teenager shot dead at high school. *National Post*, pp. A1, A12.
42. *Rook, K. & Medley, M. (2007, May 24). Victim 'was always happy, Joyful.' *National Post*, p. A12.
43. *Alcoba, N. (2007, May 24). Woman collapses with grief at Sunnybrook. *National Post*, p. A12.
44. Bielski, Z. (2007, May 24). Violence not normally a concern; C.W. Jefferys known for arts programs. *National Post*, p. A13.
45. 'Sweet little boy' dies from gunshot at high school. (2007, May 24). *The Hamilton Spectator*, p. A1.
46. Leong, M. & Coutts, M. (2007, May 24). Boy, 14, shot to death in school; 'Some sort of beef' blamed for killing in Jane-Finch area of northwest Toronto. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. A3. (Early).
47. Leong, M. & Coutts, M. (2007, May 24). Boy, 14, shot to death in school; 'Some sort of beef' blamed for killing in Jane-Finch area of northwest Toronto. *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. A3. (Final).
48. Leong, M. & Coutts, M. (2007, May 24). Boy, 14, gunned down at school; Students hide under desks as school is locked down for hours. *The Vancouver Sun*, p. A4.
49. *Marlow, I., Grewal, S. & Srikantham, T. (2007, May 24). The Shooting: In a grim first for Toronto, a boy is gunned down inside his school. *Toronto Star*, pp. A1, A21.
50. *Srikantham, T. (2007, May 24). The Victim: 'Every mother is crying' for Jordan. *Toronto Star*, pp. A1, A20.
51. *Brown, L. & Piercy, J. (2007, May 24). C. W. Jefferys seen as safe haven. *Toronto Star*, p. A21.
52. *Byers, J. (2007, May 24). Miller blames gun scourge. *Toronto Star*, p. A20.
53. *Byers, J. (2007, May 24). Miller blames gun scourge. *Toronto Star*, p. A20.
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